

JPRS 77945

28 April 1981

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 186

FBIS FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

28 April 1981

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 186

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Give Free Rein to People's Initiative, Creativity (Guan Shuren; BEIJING RIBAO, 2 Feb 81)	1
Understanding, Dealing With Class Struggle Emphasized (Chen Zhonglian; DAZHONG RIBAO, 13 Mar 81)	4
Readjustment Does Not Preclude Economic Reform (Fan Jiang; NANFANG RIBAO, 22 Mar 81)	7
Party Seeks To Unite Masses Politically, Economically (ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 13 Mar 81)	9
Emphasis on Material Incentives Denounced (Sun Jingqi; HEBEI RIBAO, 7 Mar 81)	14
Leaders Must Readjust Thinking for Agriculture Gains (Chi Jingde; DAZHONG RIBAO, 13 Mar 81)	17
Correctness of Line of Third Party Plenum Stressed (SHANXI RIBAO, 27 Feb 81)	21
Need To Emulate Example of Lei Feng Stressed (YUNNAN RIBAO, 5 Mar 81)	25
Lei Feng Spirit Said Needed for Four Modernizations (BEIJING RIBAO, 4, 6 Mar 81)	27
Building Socialist Spiritual Culture, by Wen You, Tian Zeng Teaches Youth, by Jin Ge	

Young People Urged To Build Spiritual Civilization (SICHUAN RIBAO, 10 Mar 81)	35
Fujian Party Leader Speaks on Political Stability, Unity (Zou Lishang; FUJIAN RIBAO, 9 Mar 81)	37
Party Members Must Cooperate To Overcome Difficulties (Song Zhijian; FUJIAN RIBAO, 20 Mar 81)	39
Further Discussion of the Westernization Movement (Huang Yifeng, Jiang Feng; LISHI YANJIU, 15 Dec 80)	41

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Teaching Cadres Well Said Important to Ensuring Party Line (JIEFANG RIBAO, 21 Feb 81)	57
Colleges Established in Nanjing, Xinjiang Areas (GUANGMING RIBAO, 30 Mar 81)	61
Nanjing Christian Theology College Xinjiang Sociology Institutes Xinjiang Sparetime Universities	
Wuhan University Takes Steps To Improve Teaching (CHANGJIANG RIBAO, 1 Feb 81)	63
Shanxi Provincial Police Equipped With Weapons (Gao Dengyue, Kong Xianxin; SHANXI RIBAO, 24 Feb 81)	65

PARTY AND STATE

GIVE FREE REIN TO PEOPLE'S INITIATIVE, CREATIVITY

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 2 Feb 81 p 3

[Article by Guan Shuren [7070 2885 0086]: "Talking About the 'Big River' and 'Small Rivers'"]

[Text] For many years, when people have talked about relations between the nation, collectives and individuals, they usually say for instance that "small rivers rise when the big river is high; when the big river is low, small rivers run dry." Carefully thinking it over, we feel that while such an analogy has correct aspects to it, it is to a certain extent one-sided.

Our nation is a nation of people. When our nation becomes rich and powerful, the living standards of the masses will automatically be improved both materially and culturally. The analogy is right in this sense. However, this tells us only one aspect of how the "big river" acts on "small rivers." The other aspect of the question is the effect that "small rivers" have on the "big rivers"--that is, the responsibilities that collectives and individuals should have toward the nation; this is an aspect which the analogy does not touch on. If somebody should ask where the water in the "big river" comes from, it seems that the analogy cannot give the answer. It is why that we say it is one-sided.

Taking "small rivers rise when the big river is high" as an adage is also not a scientific summation of natural phenomena. All big rivers in the world are formed by small rivers. The water level of big rivers is determined by that of small rivers. There will be no roaring waves of big rivers unless the are trickles of small rivers. Master Xun said: Unless small streams join together, there will be no rivers and seas. What he said pinpoints the truth of the matter. For instance, the world-famous Huanghe [Yellow River] is magnificent because its angry torrent rolls thunderously on for 1,000 li. However, its mighty waters originate entirely from its waterhead Kariqu [0595 2480 2575] and from many big and small tributaries including the Taohe, the Huangshui, the Wudinghe, the Fenhe, the Weihe, the Luohe, and the Qinhe. If its waterhead and all of its tributaries were cut off, what would remain would be only a dry river course lying along a wilderness stretching 10,000 li. Judged by the macroscopic phenomenon of the natural world, it is not that "small rivers rise when the big river is high; when the big river is low, the small rivers run dry," but that "the big river rises when the small rivers are high; when small rivers are low, the big river runs dry." Are there any exceptions?

Yes. Manmade irrigation canals and ditches are of the type where "small rivers rise when the big river is high." But do not forget that the water of the "big river" comes only from the confluence of many small rivers because irrigation canals and ditches cannot generate water by themselves. Without the running water small rivers, irrigation canals and ditches would be doomed to dry up.

Using such a common truth as an adage to compare relations between the nation, collectives and individuals, we can easily understand: The wealth of a society is not "accumulated" by a single household, a single unit, or a single enterprise. Upon the presupposition of the system of public ownership of production data, if the individuals and the collectives become rich, they will help the nation to grow rich and powerful more quickly; if things go wrong, it will become a drag on the construction of the four modernizations. Therefore, there is no doubt that the Party Central Committee's policies to expand the decisionmaking powers of management and administrative enterprises, to practice the system of job responsibility in agricultural production, and to allow certain people to become rich first are correct. These policies will enable thousands of "small rivers" to become full and the "big river" of our motherland to have white breakers leaping skyward. However, for a comparatively long period of time in the past, we emphasized only that "small rivers rise when the big river is high," and ignored the fact that "the big river rises when small rivers are high." As a result, many evil practices took place in our socialist economic life.

First, "small rivers" are under the excessive control of the "big river." The discharge of "small rivers" is controlled by the "big river." There has been the phenomenon that "small rivers become full when the big river draws off water; when the sluice gate of the big river is shut, the small rivers run dry." For instance, planning, production, supply and marketing, distribution, and a person's choice of a job in an enterprise are entirely handled by administrative agencies, level upon level, without delegating a little of the decisionmaking power to the enterprises themselves. Under such conditions, not only does production in a socialist society become stagnant, but evil tendencies that prevail in economic life such as trying to establish a relationship with somebody or entering by the back door are encouraged. Again, the state has adopted a policy of taking care of everything pertaining to employment. The employment of the labor force is under a policy of centralized placement, and people are not allowed to look for a job for themselves. As a result, while many people are jobless, many small-scale handicraft and service industries are waiting for people to set up. This phenomenon is inconvenient to all of us. At present, although there are changes in this situation, the course of events still has not been completely reversed.

Second, the "big river" equalizes and indiscriminately transfers resources from the "small rivers" without compensation. Since water to be used by the "small rivers" is supplied by the "big river," it is undoubtedly logical that "big river" is to equalize and indiscriminately transfer resources from "small rivers." For many years, it has become common practice for administrative agencies to transfer products and capital from enterprises without compensation, in the name of "considering the situation as a whole" or of "taking actual needs into account." Some people's communes in villages at times even ask production brigades to send people and goods to take part in "great battles" which are totally unrelated to their own economic interests. It frequently has become the usual practice for resources of

a unit which has made better achievements to be transferred by giving [this practice] a fine-sounding name such as "able people should do more work" or "sharing must be rational." As a result, the enthusiasm of the collectives and individuals in production has diminished.

Third, a dependent mentality of "small rivers" has resulted. Owing to the fact that "small rivers" will not run dry when the "big river" is high because they have iron rice bowls in their hands which guarantee that they can "eat out of the big common pot without worrying, "small rivers" therefore never think about struggling arduously or working with might and main. There are enterprises which lose business and contribute nothing to the nation, yet they are still paid by the state; and there are places where production drops have not been caused by natural disasters, yet they are entitled to receive relief from the state. As a result, the revolutionary spirit of relying on our own efforts and trying to overtake each other in friendly emulation has been suppressed, and the thinking of lazing time away by "waiting, depending, and asking" has been encouraged. Our country, which is recovering from a disaster, is comparatively poor and weak. Yet we have to feed a population of millions upon millions of people. If things are allowed to go on like this, no matter how much water there is in the three rivers and five lakes, people can use it up by single dippers and bowls.

Fourth, the bad habit of extravagance has been cultivated. People feel that water is supplied by a big river which flows continuously. Therefore they do not care or feel sorry about water being spilled. Consequently, there are people who do not take economic effect into account and let financial and material resources go to waste; there are cases in which regulations and systems cease to be binding and vast material resources are destroyed, deteriorate, or are stolen; there are people who go in for ostentation and extravagance and are generous at the expense of the nation by utilizing public property to establish a relationship with somebody; and there are people who take more than they are entitled to or even appropriate public property, and so forth. One of the effective measures for checking such a "dandy" style is to cut off the source of extravagance so that they must have an independent accounting unit and assume sole responsibility for their own profits and losses.

It seems that it is not sufficient merely to use "small rivers rise when the big river is high" to compare relations between the nation, collectives and individuals. However, it is not without merit. It tells people that we have hope that our country will become strong. It is why we must build a thriving, prosperous nation. How can the goal of quickly making our country powerful and prosperous be achieved? Perhaps it is necessary to talk more about the truth that the "big river rises when small rivers are high" and that "when everybody adds fuel, the flames rise high," in order to arouse our industrious and ingenious people to give free rein to everybody's subjective initiative and revolutionary creativeness and to proceed to build a glorious future with their own hands.

PARTY AND STATE

UNDERSTANDING, DEALING WITH CLASS STRUGGLE EMPHASIZED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Chen Zhongian [7115 1813 1526]: "Correctly Understand and Deal With the Current Class Struggle"]

[Text] The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee called on us to shift the focus of all party work and the attention of all the people in the country to building the socialist modernizations, but at the same time it pointed out that in our country there still exist an extremely small number of antirevolutionary and criminal elements who are hostile to and wish to destroy the building of our country's socialist modernizations, and that we decidedly cannot relax our struggle against this class of people. As for the unstable elements existing in our present society, some of whom are antirevolutionary elements, remnants of supporters of the "gang of four" and remnants of the exploiting classes who have not reformed, and all of them are directly involved in a class struggle with us; others are a reflection of a class struggle among the people themselves. This clearly indicates that although class struggle is no longer an important contradiction in society, nevertheless it still exists, and the party central's guiding principles and attitude toward dealing with the problem of class struggle are completely correct.

The class struggle we normally speak of is the life-and-death struggle within a class society, based on differing economic advantages, between different classes, primarily classes that are antagonistic to each other, and carried out on the battle-fronts of politics, economics, and ideology. After the proletariat seized political power and established a socialist system of state ownership, the class situation in society and the nature, content, and special characteristics of class struggle were all clearly differentiated from those of a class society and bore the special characteristics of an interim society. That is, regarding the situation in our own country, after passing through the reform embodied in the Third Plenum, the landlord, rich peasant and capitalist classes have already ceased to exist as classes; the existing remnants of the exploiting classes already lack the political and economic capability of engaging in large-scale resistance against the workers and peasants, who are in control of the machinery of state and all the means of production; these elements, who are in a state of dispersion, already do not constitute a publicly acknowledged entire class and, moreover, this small number of people are continuously being dispersed even further. Having passed through a long period of education and reforming by our party and the people, some of these people have joined the ranks of the people; however, there is still a small portion who stubbornly maintain their reactionary standpoint and refuse to reform. They

frequently collude with all forms and colors of reactionary elements, as well as degenerates within our party such as Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and the remnants of their supporters, and make use of every opportunity to destroy our socialist economy, create confusion, engage in criminal activities to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, and spread among the people the decadent thinking of the exploiting classes. At present a portion of the unstable elements of our society are people who are engaged in these destructive activities. They either hate the four basic principles to the marrow of their bones, or they cherish a bitter grudge over the shameful end of the "gang of four" and are waiting for an opportunity to stage a comeback. Their only fear is that there may not be confusion in the world; they seize upon matters that everyone is concerned about and use them to stir up trouble, create rumors, and spoil things in order to seek a way to succeed in their schemes. These are the most dangerous among the unstable elements at present, and they are also the current principal manifestation of class struggle. Regarding these people, we must adopt severe authoritative measures; we absolutely cannot abet evil by tolerating it. If we do not put an end to what should be ended, then we will have to suffer the resulting chaos. Regarding some destructive activities, we must not just strike out at them one time, but we must crack down on them repeatedly; otherwise, we will not be able to safeguard and develop the aspects of stability and unity. Of course, we must strictly adhere to legal procedures and carry out our struggle against them within the limits of the law.

Class struggle in the area of ideology is not the same as its political and economic aspects, and has its particular characteristics. The decadent ideologies of feudalism and capitalism, just as other ideologies, possess a relatively independent nature. After our socialist system of public ownership was established, they absolutely could not be immediately and thoroughly eradicated in the wake of the modification of the old economic base, but could only be gradually changed. And the remnants of these ideologies that remained, under the proper conditions could still contaminate and spread, and moreover it was extremely easy for them to be combined with the ideology of small-scale production, and so linger on. On the one hand, the establishment of the socialist system of public ownership enabled the socialist ideological system to gradually grow to be the main guiding force in the people's thinking, and on the other hand, feudalism, capitalism, petit bourgeois thinking (including thinking that favors small-scale production), and other old traditional ways of thinking still existed to one degree or another. A gradual victory over these ways of thinking is a long term, formidable task of the proletariat on the ideological battlefield during the socialist phase. During the 10 years of turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" criticized socialism as being capitalism, and they also proclaimed small-scale production, peasant egalitarianism, and feudalism to be socialism, thus aggravating the ideological confusion among the masses of people, and at the same time enabling feudalistic and capitalistic thinking to seize the opportunity to spread unchecked. After the smashing of the "gang of four," we brought order out of chaos on the ideological battlefield, and achieved outstanding results, but this was definitely not accomplished in one step. After the Third Plenum, in the course of putting the spirit of the Third Plenum into effect, the class struggle in politics was not relaxed; as for the class struggle in the areas of economics and ideology, a proportion of comrades did not place much stress on it. Some comrades even placed the promotion of democracy and the strengthening of our legal system in opposition to each other, bound their hands and feet, did not dare to attack what should have been attacked, and did not dare to carry out criticism against what should have been criticized boldly and assuredly, with justice on their side. Furthermore, we are in the midst of a period of great transformations, and any unsoundness in our political or economic systems,

any trace of one-sidedness in our propaganda work, are seized upon by some bad people as opportunities to engage in reactionary propaganda and create disorder. Aside from this, there is also the infiltration of bourgeois ideology from abroad. Therefore it must be said that in society there is still a definite market for the ideology of the exploiting classes, and of necessity it must engage in a struggle with our proletarian ideology. These contradictions tend to overlap with certain other contradictions that actually partake of the nature of class struggle, creating an extremely complex situation, so that we should be extremely cautious about further differentiating them and dealing with them satisfactorily. Otherwise, it could lead to an aggravation of these contradictions and have a harmful effect upon our stability and unity.

Regarding the present phenomenon of class struggle, it is understood that we cannot be indifferent to it or wash our hands of the matter; but we also cannot make a big fuss over matters that are not really important. Especially, we cannot go from one extreme to another and assume that the spirit of the Third Plenum has changed and shifted its program to one of dealing with class struggle, or else we would again commit the mistake of enlarging the scope of the class struggle. We must strictly differentiate between two different kinds of contradiction and adopt two different methods for solving them. Regarding the opposition between ourselves and the enemy, we must adopt dictatorial measures; regarding the class struggle reflected in various degrees among the people themselves, we must adopt the methods of criticism, education, and launching an ideological conflict of a positive nature. The kind of ideological struggle we are talking about is a conflict to take place among comrades and among the people, using proletarian ideology to overcome all incorrect thinking, and carried out with the methods of criticism, self-criticism, and persuasion by education. For example, some people are lacking in a clear concept of our legal system and have followed bad people in doing some improper things; we should strictly criticize and educate them, and analyze the dangers involved, so that they can correct their mistake before it is too late. Some people are spreading opinions in opposition to the four basic principles, and we should use appropriate ways of refuting and criticizing them. If we engage in a positive ideological struggle with these people as soon as possible, and help them and educate them, we will not only promptly eliminate certain unstable elements, but we will be able to rescue some of them. This will be beneficial both to developing the aspects of stability and unity, and to the entire enterprise of socialism.

In short, the problem of class struggle is an important, actual problem in society at present, and only if we correctly recognize it and deal with it properly will we be able to consolidate and develop the political aspects of stability and unity, and insure the successful completion of the readjustment of our national economy.

9634

CS0: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

READJUSTMENT DOES NOT PRECLUDE ECONOMIC REFORM

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Mar 81 p 2

[Article by Fan Jiang (0028 3068): "Apply More Dialectics in Thinking"]

[Text] It was reported that, when studying the documents of the Central Work Conference, different views on the relationship between readjustment and reform emerged in the leading team of a plant. Some comrades felt that the direction of reform in the previous period was correct and that, currently, reforms benefiting the readjustment must still be properly pursued. However, others felt that, since the Party Central Committee stressed readjustment at present, there was no need to discuss reform. They even doubted the accuracy of the previous reforms, as if some of the problems currently found in the economy were linked with and brought about by the reforms.

The relationship between readjustment and reform was clearly explained in the documents of the Central Work Conference. The documents pointed out that the direction of the reforms in the economic system in the previous period was correct, and the reforms, as a whole, were good. Currently, the emphasis on readjustment does not negate reform. Only certain reforms conflicting with the readjustment are postponed for the time being, but those favorable to the readjustment must be intensively carried out. This principle is not hard to understand. But why do some comrades place the two on opposite sides? This calls for our reflection. In fact, besides the relationship between readjustment and reform, one-sided understanding of the spirit of the Central Work Conference exists on other issues. Stressing centralized unity, for instance, seems to make it unnecessary to enliven the economy; planned guidance seems to rule out observance of the economic laws and market regulation; stress on grain production seems to indicate a slackening of diversification, etc. It indicates that some of our comrades lack the skill of understanding matters by applying materialist dialectics, easily go to the extremes in guiding work, and fail to correctly comprehend the spirit of the Central Work Conference and the Third Plenary Session.

We must have more dialectics in our mind and avoid one-sidedness. In understanding and handling problems, we must not lean to either one side or the other and sever the spirit of the Central Work Conference and that of the Third

Plenary session. The spirit of the Central Work Conference is a continuation and development of the lines and policies since the Third Plenary Session and the further implementation of the principle of seeking the truth from the facts and rectifying the erroneous leftwing guiding ideology. The readjustment, planned guidance, centralized unity and reinforced management stressed at present are aimed at the existing problems and for the purpose of overcoming certain one-sidedness in our work in the past. Stressing them does not signify a rejection of reforms, of expansion of the self-governing power of the enterprises, and of observance of the economic laws, the law of value and market regulation. When studying and implementing the spirit of the Central Work Conference, we must regard the issues with the dialectic viewpoint and avoid a different kind of one-sidedness, thereby creating the impression that the party's policy has changed again.

It must be pointed out that, in implementing the spirit of the Central Work Conference, the incorrect views of some of our comrades on the reforms of the economic system in the previous period, or even the negation of such reforms, are directly linked with the remnant "leftwing" influence. For more than 2 decades, the "leftwing" ideas in the guiding ideology of economic construction were deeply entrenched in people's mind, and still exert an influence on the thinking and actions of some people even today. It was precisely under the influence of the "leftwing" ideology that some comrades entertained an attitude of doubt toward the series of policies proposed by the Third Plenary Session, while today, when the Party Central Committee points out the problems emerging in the course of implementing such policies, these comrades want to copy the past without discrimination. Therefore, purging the "leftwing" influence is the key to intensively understanding the spirit of the Central Work Conference and overcoming one-sidedness in the method of thinking.

6080

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY SEEKS TO UNITE MASSES POLITICALLY, ECONOMICALLY

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 81 p 3

[Article: "Party Leadership Is the Core of the Four Basic Principles"]

[Excerpt] If in China we want to build a strong, modernized, highly democratic, high civilized socialist state, then it is necessary for us to persevere in the four basic principles. The core of persevering in these four principles is to be firm in maintaining the leadership of the party. Only under the leadership of the Communist Party will we be able to persevere on the road to socialism, persevere in the people's democratic dictatorship (that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat), and persevere in Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, we would not be capable of experiencing any kind of socialism, we would not be able to put into effect a real people's democratic dictatorship, and there could be no mention of persevering in Marxism-Leninism or Mao Zedong Thought. At present, we are in the process of putting into effect the building of the four modernizations, and if we depart from the leadership of the Communist Party, the four modernizations will only be an empty phrase.

At present, our party is in the process of leading the people of the entire country in making great efforts to struggle for the building of the socialist modernizations. If we want to build the four modernizations, then in the same way we must be firm in maintaining the party's leadership; this is because:

First, only with the help of our party are we able to formulate a correct political line based on Marxist theories of scientific socialism and the actual present situation in our country. This line enables our enterprise to have a clear goal to struggle for, and to have a firm, fixed, and correct direction for development.

Secondly, in order to build the four modernizations, it is necessary to have a unified, united political aspect. In the past, one of the root causes of China's being poor, backward, and so weak and helpless was that it was in a state of disunity like a sheet of loose sand. The ascent of our party to governmental power ended the division of China into different areas under the charge of different warlords. [Our presently-sought] aspects of stability and unity are not easily come by. Only with the Communist Party can we unite the people of all

the nationalities of our country together to build socialism. Otherwise, the situation of stability and unity cannot be maintained, and in that case there simply cannot be any talk of building the four modernizations.

Third, the building of the four modernizations requires arduous struggle on the part of hundreds of millions of people, and requires bringing into full play their enthusiasm, initiative, and creativity. Only by relying on the correct line, programs, and policies formulated by our party; adopting the correct organizational measures; and going through all levels of party organization to resolutely carry out the implementation of these policies and measures; will we be able to bring the socialist zeal of these hundreds of millions of people into play most effectively.

Fourth, in order to build the four modernizations, we must have ranks of cadres who are steadfast in the path of socialism, and who possess specialized professional knowledge and managerial ability, and only under the leadership of the party can this kind of contingent of cadres be established.

Fifth, socialist economic construction is an extremely complex activity, and in the course of carrying out this construction various contradictions will of necessity occur between all departments of the national economy and people's organizations, and only with the help of our party will we be able to proceed from the basis of the fundamental and long-term advantage of the broad masses of people; adjust the relationships among the various kinds of advantages; enable all of our forces to unite for the sake of a single, common goal, and ensure the successful progress of the building of the four modernizations.

In order for the party's leadership, and most importantly the correct political leadership, to unite the broad masses of people around it by means of the correct line, programs and policies proposed by the party, must result in the masses, all of one mind, advancing toward the common goal. At the same time it must bring about a gradual improvement in the system and methods of party leadership, and must change the effects of not paying attention to bringing administrative and vocational departments into full play, and the incorrect method of allowing party committees to take on the entire task of administration, which on the surface seems to strengthen party leadership but actually weakens it. We must restore normal political life within the party, and perfect the system of democratic concentration of powers; discuss and decide all important questions collectively and not let one individual decide; and overcome the system of family elders and the bad practice of letting one person alone have the final say. We must make great efforts to augment our ideological political work and, through many forms of vivid, lively ideological political work, as well as the vanguard, exemplary effect of Communist Party members, attract the broad masses of people to the line, programs, and policies of the party. But we cannot pose as lords and masters, or force people to adopt our way of thinking; and still less can we simply force the masses to do everything we want. In our system of leadership, party administration must gradually be separated from other aspects; in cadres work, we must fully follow the mass line. We must discover and select those of outstanding talent who support the party line, are steadfast in treading the path of socialism, possess specialized professional knowledge and managerial ability, and are also both mature and able, to

replenish all levels of leading bodies, gradually causing leading bodies to become more revolutionary, more youthful, more professionalized, and more knowledgeable. This task cannot be accomplished well by relying on a small number of people using mysterious methods; but must pass through the many forms of the recommendations of the masses, the test of the people's will, and democratic election, fully following the mass line.

Every Communist Party member, and every person who dearly loves the party and the enterprise of socialism, must be concerned about the party, cherish the party, and self-consciously preserve the party's leadership.

First of all, we must unconditionally maintain political unanimity with the party Central Committee. Cohesiveness and unity are the source of the party's strength, and are the fundamental guarantee of the party's seizing victory in revolution and building the four modernizations. At present, our country is in the midst of a new historic period, and there are many things which we are trying to find out more about or trying to put into practice, and of necessity some new situations and new problems will occur, and also certain differences in understanding. At the same time, because of the 10 years of destruction wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as the error of the "left" that existed for a long time in our guiding ideology, our present economic work faces difficulties and hidden dangers. Under these circumstances, it is all the more necessary for us to emphasize cohesiveness and unity, maintaining unanimity with the party Central Committee and overcoming difficulties with one mind and one heart. Since the Third Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, our party has led the people of the entire country in liberating their thinking and bringing order out of chaos, has carried out arduous efforts in many areas, and achieved an excellent situation seldom seen since the founding of our state. Practice has proven that the ideological, political, and organizational lines as well as a whole series of programs and policies, are correct. The present leadership of the party Central Committee is a thoroughly-tested, strong body, and is completely reliable. We must firmly believe in the party Central Committee's leadership, and self-consciously maintain unanimity with it. In emphasizing the maintaining of unanimity with the party Central Committee, we are definitely not forbidding the holding of differing opinions. For the holding of differing understandings and opinions, party members may proceed according to the regulations in the party constitution, bring them out within the party according to established procedures, and carry out discussion of them at party conferences.

Secondly, we must do a better job of party practices, and heighten the prestige of the party. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out: "The question of party practices in the party in power is a question on which the very survival of the party depends." If a better job is done of practices within the party, then the prestige of the party can be heightened, and a closer relationship between the party and the masses can be brought about; the masses will then be more supportive of us, and will self-consciously accept the party's leadership; only then can the party truly obtain the right of leadership over the people of the entire country. On the other hand, if the party loses prestige, and loses the masses, then it loses the right of leadership. We must have a comprehensive, accurate evaluation of practices within our party. Within the party there are

surely incorrect practices, and there are merely a small number of leading cadres engaged in practices involving special privileges, who say there is nothing wrong with practices within our party, and who are not interested in seeking truth from facts. However, to say on the basis of the improper practices of a small number of cadres, that a majority of cadres, or the whole body of cadres are involved in improper practices, taking isolated phenomena to be universal phenomena, and exaggerating partial things by considering them to represent the whole, is also not seeking the truth from facts.

At the same time, we must follow the "standards": no person is permitted to enjoy any privilege at all outside the system, or to make use of the privileges of his position for his personal advantage or that of his relatives and friends. If we want to accomplish this, then we must place ourselves strictly under the party's organizational supervision, participate in the party's organizational life, launch a program of criticism and self-criticism, and continuously cleanse ourselves of corruption and error. We believe that the broad masses of people are capable of proceeding from a base of being concerned about and cherishing the party to carrying out constructive criticism and supervision of party members and all levels of party organization. Through arduous efforts on the part of the entire party and the people of the entire country, the party's excellent traditions and practices will certainly be restored and promoted, and the party's prestige will also be further heightened.

Third, we must, boldly and assuredly with justice on our side, struggle against erroneous words and actions that tend to weaken and break away from the leadership of the party. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly after the 30 Plenum of the party's 11th Central Committee, the party's line, programs, and policies obtained the support of the broad masses of people; the party's prestige is in the process of being restored and heightened, and the broad masses trust in and warmly love our party. However, there have also appeared a small number of people who are attempting to weaken and break off from the leadership of the party; they are spreading rumors and slanders, and nonsense to the effect that our party the way it is will not do, that it is not capable of directing the four modernizations, etc. And some of us comrades adopt a permissive attitude towards them. Within the party there are also a small number of people who, regardless of the circumstances, and with no concern for party discipline, willfully spread views that are dissatisfied with or opposed to the line, programs, and policies of the party, they are like those opposition members of legislative assemblies who, in attacking the party in power, splash dirty water on the party. Regarding this kind of erroneous words and actions, every party member and the revolutionary masses should all step forward boldly and carry out a resolute struggle against them. Of course, regarding erroneous words and actions one must also carry out a concrete analysis. Some of them are due to the pernicious influence of the extreme leftist line of the "gang of four," and relate to problems of understanding; while others stem from the ulterior motives of people who create rumors to defile the party, and viciously slander it, intending to create disorder in the world. As for the problem of improper understanding, the principal methods for solving it are propagandizing the party's programs and policies, carrying out persuasion by education, and launching the necessary programs for criticizing and dredging

out erroneous notions. As for the vicious attacks of those whose only worry is that there may be no disorder in the world, we must have a firm, clear-cut stand, refute them on the basis of reason, and launch a strict ideological struggle. Only by launching a positive ideological struggle against this kind of erroneous words and actions will we be able to avoid creating unnecessary ideological confusion among the masses, so that the people of the entire country, under the leadership of the party, can unite together and strive for the realization of the socialist four modernizations.

9634

CS01 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EMPHASIS ON MATERIAL INCENTIVES DENOUNCED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 7 Mar 81 p 4

[Article by Sun Jingqi [1327 2529 4388]: "We Must Pay Attention to and Strengthen Ideological and Political Work"]

[Text] Strong ideological and political work is needed in order to consolidate and develop the political situation of stability and unity and further readjust the national economy. But at present, there are some comrades who shake their heads in disapproval and become disenchanted at the mere mention of ideological and political work. It really is absolutely necessary to clarify many muddle-headed ideas and ambiguous notions that exist in their minds.

The first notion is: "Today, with theory changing from time to time, we really don't know what to follow and what not to follow. Political work is troublesome." This viewpoint seems to be reasonable. But a careful analysis will prove it wrong. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were in their heyday of power, they called black white, confused right and wrong, and trampled underfoot and undermined Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in a way that was unprecedented in history. The result was utter confusion in the people's minds. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has taken a series of important measures to eliminate chaos and restore order, eradicate confusion at its source, and restore Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought to its original face. Today, the leftist stuff that was promoted in the past is no longer promoted. Some viewpoints that were criticized under the left deviationist line have been reaffirmed today. Some policies and strategies that were proclaimed by the party for a certain period of history have been adjusted and revised to suit the current situation, following a period of practice and tests. All these changes which have resulted from the implementation of the ideological line of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts upheld by the party are entirely in accord with the wishes of the broad masses of people. Our fundamental rule is that those basic principles and theories of our allegiance to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, allegiance to the socialist road, allegiance to the leadership of the party, and allegiance to the people's democratic dictatorship are never subjected to change. Therefore, the contention that "theory changes from time to time" and other similar arguments are groundless. Our comrades in charge of political work must conscientiously study theory and thoroughly comprehend the line, principles, and policies of the party. Only in this way can they climb high, look afar, be on constant alert, and prove false the

contention that "theory changes from time to time" and that political work is troublesome.

The second notion is: "Isn't it true that the four modernizations program is the supreme political task? As long as we can do our professional and technical work well, we should be left alone. Is it really necessary for us to engage in political work?" This is an idea that pits political work against the realization of the four modernizations. By saying that the four modernizations program is the supreme political task, we mean that it represents the long-range and basic interests of people throughout the country. If no efforts are made to realize the four modernizations and vigorously develop the productive forces, our socialist system cannot be radically consolidated, nor will we be in any position to achieve the ultimate objective of defeating capitalism. But this does not mean that politics is no longer our concern and that only professional and technical work is needed to realize the four modernizations. When we engage in the four modernizations, we must build not only a high-level material civilization but also a high-level spiritual civilization. Such a high-level spiritual civilization embodies not only high-level culture and science but also a high sense of political consciousness and moral qualities. Without these, we are in no position to talk about the realization of the four modernizations. Nor are we in any position to talk about the matter of the transition to communism. For this reason, all comrades who are truly dedicated to the four modernizations should strive to raise their revolutionary consciousness, keep the correct political orientation, and foster the lofty communist ideals and moral qualities in addition to vigorously and assiduously studying technology and acquiring professional knowledge. Only in this way can we continuously overcome and resist erroneous ideas and misdeeds harmful to the four modernizations, have technology and professional work advance along the correct course, and produce tremendous power. The development of history requires us to integrate political consciousness with professional competence, and politics with professional knowledge.

The third notion is: "In the future, we must use economics to manage the economy. 'Material rewards' are needed to instigate the people's enthusiasm. We can no longer just shout empty political slogans." It must be pointed out that sensitivity to the people's material interests is a basic point of Marxist principles. The counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" alleged that "spirit is omnipotent." They vilified the concern for the well-being of the masses as the "pursuit of material benefits," mistaking material rewards for "material incentives." They senselessly contended that "poverty gives rise to a desire for revolution, whereas affluence gives rise to a desire to turn revisionist." Their sham socialism of universal poverty was inconsistent with Marxism. Our criticism of the notion that "spirit is omnipotent" does not indicate that we can now slide down the road toward another extreme of persuasion that "money talks." Countless facts prove that reliance on material rewards alone is not a device to stimulate the enthusiasm of the masses in a sustained manner. Believing that "money talks," some localities have relied on material rewards alone to "win" the hearts of the masses. The result is the emergence of the idea that "money is the only center of attraction," that "more work can be done for more money," and that "without money, no work can be done." Furthermore, the evil practices of deception, reaping profits at the expense of others, and violating policies have increased, thus causing damage to production and work. Can't we learn a few lessons from such evil practices? The ultimate aim of our revolutionary undertaking and construction is to

improve the material and cultural well-being of the people. Life in this world means more than just looking for something to eat and to wear! As Chairman Mao said long ago: Life cannot go on without spirit. During prolonged revolutionary practice, our party has fostered revolutionary spirit and death-defying spirit; the spirit of strictly observing discipline and self-sacrifice; the spirit of subordinating the individual to the organization and local interests to overall interests, of being completely devoted to the public interest, and of serving the people wholeheartedly; the spirit of self-denial, utter devotion to serving others, fearing neither hardships nor death, vanquishing all enemies, and overcoming all difficulties. These are our valuable spiritual assets and our revolutionary legacy. In the past we relied on this spirit to defeat the enemy. Today, we still need this spirit to overcome difficulties and win new victories for the four modernizations program. These are noble revolutionary spirits that money cannot buy. Particularly today, when our country still faces many difficulties, we are more than ever required to vigorously restore and carry forward the Yanan spirit. Our party organizations at all levels are required to vigorously strengthen ideological and political work.

Communists have the duty to transform society and people. Abandoning ideological and political work means abandoning the glorious responsibility for the revolutionary party. Today, our party has set forth the correct political, organizational, and ideological line. We have a large number of old cadres who have long been dedicated to political work, and we have accumulated rich experiences in ideological and political work. As long as we can conscientiously sum up historical experiences and lessons, eradicate the pernicious influence of the left deviationist line, conscientiously rectify our style of practical work, and improve our methods of work, we certainly can quickly restore our party's prestige and excellent tradition in ideological and political work. It can also be anticipated that ideological and political work will have an increasingly important role to play in the development of the four modernizations.

9574

CSO: 4005/479

PARTY AND STATE

LEADERS MUST READJUST THINKING FOR AGRICULTURE GAINS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Chi Jingde 6588 2417 17957, Secretary of the CCP's Jiaonan County Committee: "'Readjust' the Thinking of Leaders"]

[Text] The carrying through of the party Central Committee's program for effecting a further readjustment of the national economy, and the agricultural battleline, face arduous tasks ahead. This is not only because of the fact that while agriculture is on the "rise," some present inept and ineffective building projects are also on the "decline," and the insufficiently reasonable economic structure is in need of "adjustment." What is more important is that we must go through a complete modification; truly free the guiding thought behind our building of the economy from the restrictions of the "left"; and cause it to become truly in line with the actual situation in our country and with our national capabilities. Only this way can our entire national economy have a harmonious, sustained development.

Looking back over the experience and lessons learned over the past many years of agricultural production and construction in Jiaonan County, one can see that we have suffered a great deal from the errors of the "left." For one thing, we departed too much from actual local material conditions and from people's level of awareness at that time and simply proceeded from a basis of subjective wishes. We demanded too much and were too anxious to obtain results; the result of this was that things tended to go contrary to our wishes, and brought about losses that should not have occurred. To take the basic construction of cropland as an example, in the past we stubbornly maintained the contradiction of proceeding gradually, and year after year did just a few projects, and this had a great negative effect on the prospect of an accelerated development of agriculture. Afterwards, owing to the erroneous influence of the leftist tendency, once the county committee got themselves roused, and came up with slogans such as "think new; do it on a big scale," and "protest against striking too weakly and not making enough trouble," they simply hated not being able to take this old land of ours and transform it in one stroke. Then, projects became bigger and bigger, battlelines became more and more extended, and in the wake of this came the "climate of egalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources." After the party's Third Plenum, on the basis of a general conclusion drawn from our faults and setbacks, we recognized that the root cause of these problems lay in the leftist thinking among our leaders, of wanting too much too soon and being

too anxious to obtain quick results. For this reason, beginning with a rectification of the thinking and leadership practices of the county committee, they adopted a series of measures to improve the situation: In arranging their plans, they would firmly adhere to the principle of planning to do only what they were actually capable of doing; regarding matters they were capable of accomplishing and which, once completed, they would be able to benefit from quickly, these they did their utmost to accomplish; for matters that should be accomplished but which would be difficult to accomplish in a short time, they created the proper conditions for their gradual accomplishment; and as for stupid projects exhausting both the people and their financial resources, and did not compensate them for the losses involved, even causing further trouble later on, these they decided not to do. Throughout the county more than 20 construction projects were ceased or slowed down one after the other, and they concentrated their limited human and financial resources on those projects that were most economical and would yield the quickest results. In the general distribution of projects, they strictly adhered to the principle of adapting measures to local conditions, and did not engage in the practice of "one knife cuts" [excessive uniformity]; communes and brigades in mountainous areas stressed doing a good job of regulating and setting in order their mountain forests; communes and brigades in hilly areas concentrated their efforts on augmenting their water conservancy conveyance systems and continuing their work on soil improvement; plains areas centered their efforts on already-constructed projects and facilities, and vigorously promoted developing the potential of water conveyance systems, increasing the benefit derived from those projects. In organizing work distribution, since they were keeping strictly to a unified plan, they also paid attention to respecting the autonomy of the communes, brigades, and production brigades. As for what and how much was to be done, and how, that was determined by them on the basis of the actual situation. They made great efforts to avoid "egalitarianism and the indiscriminate transfer of resources," the phenomenon of long-term benefits and same-year production "crowding" too closely upon one another. As for projects that had to be done cooperatively, these were done on a voluntary basis, based on the principles of mutual benefit and exchange of equal values, and the responsibilities and burdens of each participant were determined through democratic negotiations. Following this kind of readjustment, the enthusiasm of the masses was aroused and preserved, causing the basic building of cropland to advance with a firm pace, and at a faster rate, and the quality of the work was also visibly enhanced.

Seeking lip service, and not stressing economic results or the needs of society, is another prominent manifestation of leftist thinking in economic work. Jiaonan County is bordered by mountains and also faces the sea, and is rich in natural resources. However, a few years ago, owing to the trouble caused by the leftist tendency, it passed through a difficult period. At that time, the county committee stressed only food grain production. In order to stress food grain production, the county committee came up with the slogan of "settle political accounts, not economic accounts," leading to the competition for higher and higher quotas, boastful airs and the extortion of excess quotas, and the government's having to purchase excess grain. As a result, though there was high production of food grains, the number of "poor production brigades with

high production" increased steadily. In order to stress the production of food grains, all kinds of economic crops had to give way to them, and were crowded out in place after place. Jiaonan County is one of the main peanut-producing areas in the province, and the area set aside for the planting of peanuts has all along been over 200,000 mu. Because of the one-sided emphasis on the production of only food grains, many communes and brigades crowded out peanut oil producing areas with food grains, and diminished their peanut oil producing areas in order to help food grain production. This resulted in a steep decline in peanut production. At the same time the county committee emphasized the slogan "The vehicles and horses belong to the brigade, and the labor force belongs to the fields," and criticized some collectives and commune families as being "capitalist," so that the originally comparatively important though very small forest products, herding, and sideline industries could not develop. Having passed through the implementation of the spirit of the Third Plenum, we have clearly recognized the harm of the erroneous leftist tendency and, under the premise of guaranteeing the three things that are not to be reduced (the total amount of food grains produced, the portion to be contributed to the state, and the grain rations of commune members), we have, in a planned way, systematically, readjusted the proportionate relationships in agricultural production, and mobilized the masses to make use of the natural advantages of being bordered by mountains and close to the sea, to "go down to the sea to get money, and up into the mountains to gather gems," thus broadening the avenues of production. In order to allow the masses to obtain greater economic advantages, the county committee was directed against the new phenomenon of a proportion of units, which due to being overly eager and thoroughly devoted to becoming rich, indiscriminately added items to their readjustment programs and carried out an "all-out attack." They are promptly educating cadres and commune members to combine the natural advantages of their local areas with the acceptance of planned guidance from the state, to combine the adjustment of plans with the regulation of the market, and further adjust production distribution on the basis of the state's society's needs. In every item of production activity, we made great efforts to augment economic business accounting, get a simultaneous hold on economizing and keeping up production, and resolutely set about changing that method of "only wanting the pot to boil quickly, and not caring how much firewood is burnt up." In this way, by taking the situation as a whole into consideration, we enlivened the economy. Last year, the county's total production of both food grains and peanuts was the highest in history, an increase over the previous year of 43 million jin and 16 million jin respectively; the value of diversified-economy production showed an increase of more than 11 million yuan over the previous year; the quantity of food grains sold to the state by the entire county was over 140 million jin; more than 20 million jin of shelled peanuts were produced; and the money distributed to each commune member increased by an average of 15 yuan over the previous year.

Practice has enabled us to understand that whether or not the thinking of the county committee's leadership is correct has a crucial effect on the prospect of doing a good job of readjusting the entire province's economy. However, due to the fact that the erroneous leftist tendency was rampant for so many years, it has already permeated all the areas of agricultural production, exchange, distribution, and management and administration, and if we want to thoroughly rid

ourselves of its influence it is necessary to exert ourselves in many aspects. As for comrades who have worked a long time in the countryside, aside from augmenting their basic theoretical study, it is very important for them to conscientiously do a good job of investigation and research, and unceasingly use the actual practice of the masses to enrich their own understanding. On the question of expanding the system of production responsibilities we have gone through this kind of process. When we began to implement the Central Committee's two documents on agriculture, many production brigades requested permission to engage in production on a party-group basis, and to receive payment on the basis of the combined production and, in this regard the county committee for a long time was filled with anxiety, and even considered this practice would be a "regression." Therefore, they found all kinds of reasons for preventing it. Only last year did we finally, through general conclusions drawn from the practice and experience of the masses, free ourselves from the ideological fetters of the "left," extend the experience of the Baoshan commune, and put into effect a system of production responsibility or "engaging in production on a small-organization basis, and receiving payment on the basis of combined production." As a result, the masses' enthusiasm has reached an unprecedented height, and they are on the initiative at every step in all areas of agricultural activity.

9634

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CORRECTNESS OF LINE OF THIRD PARTY PLENUM STRESSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 27 Feb 81 p 3

[Reply of editor Huicai [1920 2088] to reader Haijin [3189 6651]: "Correspondence on Study--Let Us Firmly and With One Mind Carry Out the Line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee"]

[Text] Comrade Haijin:

In your letter to me you mentioned that, in the process of studying the documents of the Central Work Conference, everybody at your unit was greatly excited and full of confidence, indicating a determination to firmly carry out the important principles of further readjusting our economy and further realizing political stability. But there have been some comrades who have lacked an overall understanding about maintaining consistency with the central authorities in politics, and who were not very clear as to what this involves in terms of content and what relationship there is between this and giving play to democracy. In your letter you also said that you, too, have not been very clear about all of this and therefore would like to have me help you raise your perception. Actually, I too am studying these questions, and I can hardly say that my own understanding of them is sufficiently deep and comprehensive already. But since you asked me to reply, I would like to discuss what I personally have gained, as an exchange of our perceptions in study.

Maintaining consistency with the Party Central Committee in politics means the whole party firmly and unswervingly advancing along the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee with one mind and in a single effort.

Today, when we say that we want to maintain consistency with the Party Central Committee in politics, it means that we must consciously carry out the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee. The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee was a great turning point in the history of our party. The line of the Third Plenum is a Marxist line determined by the Party Central Committee on the basis of seeking truth from facts, after it had summed up the positive as well as the negative aspects of our experience since the founding of our state, and especially had kept in mind the serious lessons of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and had corrected the errors of the ultraleft line. Our practice over these past 2 years and more has proved that this line is entirely correct. The principle set by the Central Work Conference at this time concerning the further readjustment of our economy and the realization of our political stability is but a concrete application of the line of the Third Plenum, its continuation and its development.

As long as we firmly and unswervingly advance along the line of the Third Plenum, we are bound to be able to overcome all present difficulties and assure the smooth development of the construction of our socialist modernization.

Today, our party is the party in power; it has 35 million members and leads 1 billion people in carrying out the construction of our socialist modernization. As the core force leading the people of various nationalities of the country, the party can have only one correct line and one set of correct principles and policies, and not several lines or several sets of principles and policies. Therefore, every party organization and every party member can have only one attitude, one mind toward the party's correct line, principles, and policies, and not several sets of attitudes and several minds. This is both a major question of political principles and a major question of organizational principles, which can at no time be vague or wavering. Under the new historical conditions of today, unconditionally maintaining political consistency with the Party Central Committee involves the following aspects in terms of content: First, with respect to the correct leadership of the Party Central Committee, we must be firm and unswerving and have full trust. This is a major question of right and wrong. Every one of our comrades must draw a clear line concerning anarchism and liberalism, refrain from believing or spreading hearsay, be prohibited from conveying skepticism and sentiments of dissatisfaction in particular, but firmly struggle against all erroneous words and deeds vainly aiming at removal of the party's leadership and maliciously attacking the Party Central Committee. Second, with respect to the line of the Third Plenum and the principles determined by the Central Work Conference, we must conscientiously study them, discern their spiritual substance, and consciously carry them out. If we temporarily fail to understand certain questions in the party's resolutions or have different views with respect to them, we may reserve our individual views, but in our actions we must continue to carry them out. Antics such as picking on and murmuring about them here and there, or even pretending to abide by them but actually violating them or putting up passive resistance, are all indicative of a deprivation of party character and principles and hence very wrong. Third, we must insist on organizational principles whereby the individual obeys the organization, the minority obeys the majority, the lower level obeys the higher level, and the whole party obeys the Central Committee. Here we must especially emphasize uniform steps, unified actions, and the correct handling of interests between the individual, collective, and state. When we consider problems and handle matters, we must always proceed from the overall situation of a further readjustment of our economy and a further realization of our political stability, and not in any way damage or hamper this overall situation. We must oppose extreme individualism, departmentalism, and parochial localism. Fourth, we must have a clear understanding of the current situation. We must see both that the present situation in various aspects is very fine and also that the factor of crisis lies dormant under this fine situation, and thereby assert our spirit to handle our work well and strive to take over heavy burdens, so as to share and help relieve the party's cares. Attitudes such as making a fuss or feeling downspirited as soon as some problems begin to appear, or following blindly in an uproar without making clear what is happening, are utterly inappropriate. From the above four aspects, we can test every one of our comrades by these important indicators to determine whether he is of one heart and one mind with the party in politics or is half-hearted, and whether he takes the stand of party character or takes some other stand.

Maintaining consistency with the Party Central Committee in politics does not conflict with giving scope to democracy; the two are entirely consistent.

The party's organizational principles are democratic centralism and the practice of collective leadership. The centralism to which we adhere is centralism based on giving full play to democracy; there cannot be correct centralism without democracy, and there can be no better way of giving scope to democracy than through centralism. We are opposed to denial of democracy on the pretext of centralism, the erroneous tendencies of practicing a rule by the voice of one man, patriarchy, and arbitrary decisionmaking; and we are opposed to denial of centralism on the pretext of democracy, the equally erroneous tendencies of practicing the anarchy of doing what one pleases, and being oblivious of law and discipline. Looking back at the history of our party over the past 60 years, [we see that] it was precisely by adhering to the principle of democratic centralism that the party's high degree of centralization and unity has been assured and its continued development and growth made possible. Maintaining consistency with the Party Central Committee in politics does not by any means conflict with giving scope to democracy; the two are dialectically united and entirely consistent.

Some comrades are of the opinion that if we stress maintaining consistency with the Party Central Committee in politics today, we will obstruct giving scope to democracy. This view is not appropriate. The democracy we advocate is a democracy which benefits the strengthening and improvement of the party's leadership and which benefits the promotion and development of the enterprises of socialist construction. This is provided fairly fully and specifically in the constitution and in our party charter, and corresponding laws and party discipline are enforced to protect the democratic rights of every comrade from encroachment. This is a broad and genuine democracy, which can scarcely be matched by any exploitative system or political party. Of course, the democratic life of our party and state was not normal during a given period, and especially during the 10 years of disaster it was trampled upon by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Party Central Committee has done a great deal of work to restore and strengthen the democratic system of the party and state. Today, a lively and flexible political situation with both democracy and centralism, both discipline and freedom, both unified will and individual ease of mind has begun to emerge. The further development of this political situation is bound to enable the party and the people of the whole country to further unify their thinking, unify their actions, and advance along the line of the Third Plenum. But because some comrades have been influenced by the ultraleft line, anarchism, and ideas of liberalism, they cannot in their thinking and in their actions maintain political consistency with the Party Central Committee. For instance, some do as they please, think at random, speak with a flippant tongue, and work on anything they like; some find fault with and distort the party's line, principles, and policies, picking on them here and there, resisting them or dragging their feet and not carrying them out, or doing whatever they are used to doing, and following an entirely different track; some choose to ignore the "Guiding Principles," strike up personal relations, look for backdoor entries, work according to a devious style, or continue to resort to factionalism and organize groups and cliques, thereby interfering with and sabotaging the fine situation of stability and unity. All such erroneous words and deeds which neglect the party's character and

organizational principles constitute a corrosive which weakens the people's fighting will, disrupts the people's thinking, and endangers the party's cause; they run counter to the democracy advocated by our party and completely violate the fundamental interests of the party and the people, and therefore they cannot be brought into play but must be firmly rectified.

During the present historical period of changeover, when the old is being replaced by the new, emphasis on our unconditional maintenance of consistency with the Party Central Committee is a new test for every party organization and every party member. We must consciously carry out the line of the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, do our best to handle well the present economic readjustment, perform solidly in every task, and dedicate all our strength to the construction of the four modernizations.

9255

CSO: 4005/488

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO EMULATE EXAMPLE OF LEI FENG STRESSED

Kunming YUNNAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Mar 81 p 1

[Commentary: "Correctly Understand Lei Feng; Insist on Learning From Lei Feng"]

[Text] Today is the 18th anniversary of the day when Comrade Mao Zedong and other old proletarian revolutionaries called upon us to "learn from Lei Feng." As we are now building a socialist modern power and building a socialist spiritual civilization, we need even more to have a lofty character like Lei Feng's in maintaining a firm stand, achieving consistency between words and deeds, being selfless, and dashing ahead regardless of safety. The Lei Feng spirit is still an example from which the people, youths and children of the country must learn.

In the 1960's, the activities of the people, youths, and children of the country in learning from Lei Feng educated and stimulated the vast ranks of youths and children and established a new style for the era. During the 10 years of disaster, because of the interference and sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the Lei Feng spirit was subject to distortion and slander, and certain heart-rending events took place in our society. This made us deeply feel how important it is to promote the Lei Feng spirit. As the people of the whole country dedicate themselves to the construction of the four modernizations with one heart and one mind today, the launching of learn-from-Lei Feng activities in various trades and enterprises and on various fronts, especially among youths and children, in a continuous and deepening way and also in conjunction with the launching of civilized and courteous activities is of great significance to the smooth realization of the further readjustment of our national economy and further stability in politics, and also to the construction of the four modernizations. In order to build our country into a socialist modern power, we need to love our party, love the people, love socialism, and firmly carry out the party's line, principles, and policies with a clear-cut stand like Lei Feng's. We need to treat our work with enthusiasm, refrain from calculating our personal gains or losses or compensation, labor selflessly for socialism in our ordinary jobs, and serve the people wholeheartedly, as Lei Feng did. We need to be like Lei Feng, shining like a permanently stainless screw at whatever post we find ourselves. Only thus can we promote the early realization of the construction of our socialist modernization.

A nation without spiritual civilization is not a powerful nation; an individual without spiritual civilization is not a happy individual. Therefore, while we carry out socialist construction, we must at the same time stress the building of

an advanced spiritual civilization, and we need a lofty character and communist style like Lei Feng's: utterly benefiting others with no thought of ourselves, devoting ourselves to unity and friendly love, finding pleasure in helping others, and abiding by law and discipline. Lei Feng was a model of advanced youth with communist ideals, morals, and sentiments; he was a living example in the building of socialist spiritual civilization. If we spread the Lei Feng spirit to the vast ranks of youths and children, the spiritual outlook and socialist moral habits of youths and children are bound to take on an entirely new complexion. This will inevitably play a major role in promoting the building of a socialist spiritual civilization.

The realization of a further readjustment of our national economy and further stability in politics needs a revolutionary spirit of hard struggle and courageous conquest of difficulties like that of Lei Feng. At present, our state still faces no small number of difficulties. This requires us especially to understand the overall situation, take the overall situation into consideration, share the cares of the state, relieve the people of their worries, and correctly handle the relationship between public and private affairs as Lei Feng did. Only with this kind of spirit can we play a full role in readjusting our national economy and in promoting our stability and unity.

Today, a small number of comrades still fail to have a sufficient understanding of the substance of the Lei Feng spirit, and even harbor certain erroneous views. Youth Corps organizations at various levels must organize corps members and youths to study Lei Feng's story, correctly understand Lei Feng, and further elevate their consciousness in learning from Lei Feng. Communist Party members and Communist Youth Corps members must play their vanguard role in activities designed to learn from Lei Feng and to establish a new style, and they must continue to develop these activities in a deepening, sustained way.

9253

CSO: 4005/491

PARTY AND STATE

LEI FENG SPIRIT SAID NEEDED FOR FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Building Socialist Spiritual Culture

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Wen You [5113 0645] and Tian Zeng [3944 1073]: "We Must Continue To Develop the Spirit of Lei Feng"]

[Excerpts] Eighteen years ago, the party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong and other revolutionaries of the older generation appealed to the entire party, all members of the armed forces and the various nationalities of the whole country "to learn from Lei Feng." Throughout the vast territory of our fatherland, learning from Lei Feng, the veritable upsurge of a new work style, was to the hearts of men like the warmth of a gentle breeze and the welcome mild rain of spring. The high communist morality and the sentiments of Lei Feng, who so clearly distinguished what was to be loved and what to be hated, whose words were always consistent with his deeds, who was devoted to public service without any selfishness, who persisted in arduous struggle, who was always eager to help others, who served the people wholeheartedly, all these qualities affected and inspired millions of youths, as well as every revolutionary, every trade and profession, and every fighting front, to bring forth tens of thousands of Lei Feng-style communist fighters, and the entire society at that time took on an appearance of vast spiritual enthusiasm and vitality.

When the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques were on the rampage, the flower of the Lei Feng spirit was killed as if cut down by storm and frost. He was denounced as a "fool of the revolution," a man who had quietly put his shoulder to the wheel without even lifting his head to look at the road. A man who did as the party told him, who served the needs of the party and the people, and who was as a "screw that never rusts," was denounced as having a "slave mentality" and as being a "docile tool." A man who always cherished the job he was assigned to and studied assiduously technology to improve himself was denounced as going "the road of useless specialization." Wholehearted devotion to public interests, eagerness to help others, diligent and conscientious work was criminal. Speculating and currying favor with those in authority, plotting solely for personal gain, engaging in beating, smashing and looting were meritorious deeds. It was truly a time of confounding black and white and confusing right and wrong. An unheard-of calamity befell the spiritual culture

of socialism, of which the Chinese people had been always so proud. Our fine social customs were seriously polluted and our normal order in production, in work and in our lives was wrecked, and the national economy brought to the brink of ruin. The people hated the unhealthy trends and evil practices of Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and cohorts, who were striving solely for fame, who were solely bent on profit, and fought and contended solely for government offices. The people greatly cherished the memory of the fine social customs of the early sixties and deeply deplored that "Uncle Lei Feng was no more with us."

The positive and negative sides of the realities bring a deep realization that the forceful promotion of the Lei Feng spirit is absolutely necessary to build up the spiritual culture of socialism and to speed up the progress of the four modernizations.

However, for quite some time in the recent past, there have been people who have brusquely rejected the Lei Feng spirit, asserting that Lei Feng had been a "slave type" and an "ascetic monk," and furthermore claiming that the Lei Feng spirit is "outdated," etc. Obviously, these ideas are completely false.

Was Lei Feng a "slave type"? Everybody knows that a slave is a worker who has no control over the fruits of his labor. He enjoys no independence and has no human dignity, no rights or any freedom. At the discretion of his master he has to toil, suffer punishments, be transferred, traded, or even killed, sacrificed to gods or ancestors, or buried alive with his deceased master. Coerced by the whip or stick of his master or the master's administrator, the slave has to do the most arduous work. However, the great communist fighter Lei Feng was one of the masters of new China, having gained his liberation from the butcher's knives and the whips of the exploiting class. The teaching and nurturing received from the party and the uplifting influence of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought brought him understanding of "how to be an upright person and what we are living for." He realized that the happiness of the individual depends on the prosperity and strength of a flourishing fatherland. It is for this reason that he conscientiously dedicated himself to the cause of his fatherland and to the interests of the people, and that he heeded the needs of the party. He would do whatever the party asked him to do. The needs of the party and the people were his own aspirations. Assigned to a certain job, he would cherish his work and study it intensively. He was like a screw that will never rust. Wherever it is applied, it will shine brightly. This kind of spirit is the spirit of a master and indeed to be valued very highly!

Advocating the high moral character that Lei Feng displayed in subordinating everything to the needs of the party, in doing whatever the party asked him to do, has had extremely realistic significance in the past, as it also has even now at the time of the four modernizations. The four socialist modernizations are great and arduous undertakings of an unprecedented nature. The road to progress is beset with many difficulties and problems. We will have to take on many difficult and arduous tasks, and certain tough situations will have to be changed. We must therefore emulate the kind of spirit that was displayed by Lei Feng in accepting the needs of the party and the people as his own aspirations, in showing even greater eagerness to go on, the more difficult

the terrain became, and to take on any job, no matter how difficult it was. This is the only way that we can make steady progress in our four modernization projects.

Was Lei Feng an "ascetic monk"? The answer is equally in the negative. An ascetic monk is someone who, under the poisonous influence of religious ideas, believes that everything in the human world is "bitterness" and then purposely takes upon himself all kinds of inhuman hardships as a way to transcend the mortal world of a human being, extricate himself from all suffering and reach paradise. However, Lei Feng was a communist fighter who had tasted to the full the bitterness of the old society and fully recognized that only the socialist system can liberate the working people from oppression and exploitation. This is why he could "devote the limited space of a lifetime to service to the people which is something without limits," and why he could accept the thorough liberation of mankind as the highest form of his own happiness. The high standards of his work and his style of hard work and plain living carried on and carried forward the glorious tradition of arduous struggle of our party and armed forces during the revolutionary war. His shoes, stockings and uniform were mended over and over again. He drew few items, or none at all, of the clothing or other articles, always conscious to lighten the burden of the state, and he treasured with extreme care every little screw, every scoop of cement, every drop of gasoline, and even used whatever money he could normally save to help his comrades in arms in their difficulties, or to send it to people in disaster areas. He thus exchanged his own "bitterness" for the "sweetness" he would bring into the life of his comrades in arms, and achieved in exchange the happiness of a larger number of people. It is exactly this Lei Feng spirit of bearing hardships in service to the people which in concrete terms reflects his noble proletarian political consciousness. Is there even the slightest resemblance between this kind of "bitterness" and the illusions of an ascetic monk who tries to use "bitterness" to gain an individual transcendence from out of the mortal world and an escape from the vulgar world into paradise?

Today, when we face many difficulties in our efforts at the four modernizations throughout our large country with so large a population and its weak economic base, we are in need of continuously maintaining the Lei Feng spirit of arduous struggle, of showing understanding and exercising our own initiative in shouldering the difficult tasks of the country. We must never show indifference to the difficulties of our country, be unconcerned for the welfare of others, blindly pursue individual comforts, the happiness of one's own little family, and seek nothing but personal enrichment in every situation.

Is the Lei Feng spirit "outdated"? This is also wrong. Today, when we are determined to realize the four socialist modernizations, we are not only interested in attaining a high degree of material civilization, but also a high level of spiritual culture. This so-called spiritual culture refers not only to the development of education, a flourishing science and a thriving cultural activity, but must also include communist ideology, theories, beliefs, morals, discipline, a revolutionary stand and principles, comradely relationships with others, etc. Lei Feng's "class standpoint which allowed him to clearly distinguish what is to be loved and what to be hated, his revolutionary spirit

that has actions always conforming to words, his communist style of working selflessly for the public interest, the proletarian fighting will that defies danger," all these qualities embody the high level of spiritual culture of socialism. They are the vivid teaching material for the building of our spiritual culture. A forceful propagation of the Lei Feng spirit will be an important guarantee for the realization of the four socialist modernizations.

Due to the 10 years of turmoil caused by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing cliques, great damage was inflicted on the socialist spiritual culture of our country. Even to this day, people are painfully aware of the unhealthy state of the general mood in our society. Although this mood cannot be heard or seen, it can become a huge force that either moves or obstructs the progress of our society. If we forcefully advocate the Lei Feng spirit and try to have the study of Lei Feng and a new style of behavior become common practice throughout the land, the general mood of our society will speedily change for the better, the spirit of the people will be roused, they will become willing to work hard, they will selflessly devote themselves to public service, they will help one another. They will then also overcome the difficulties with a revolutionary spirit that fears neither hardships nor death. They will then also conscientiously observe work discipline and social order. They will also display a high degree of enthusiasm and creativity, each at his particular place of work. Very obviously, the continued display of the Lei Feng spirit can play a role in exercising extremely strong stimulation for the work in our four socialist modernization projects.

People who regard the Lei Feng spirit as outdated argue as follows: "Lei Feng was a model of the sixties. Now that we work on the four modernizations, scale new heights in science and technology, we must rely on men of specialized learning, and Lei Feng can therefore no more serve as our model." This is a lopsided viewpoint. It is of course true that we require a large number of men of specialized learning to realize our four socialist modernizations, but for this purpose we equally cannot do without millions and millions of ordinary workers of the Lei Feng type. If we do not have the millions and millions of Lei Feng-type "models in water control work," "excellent tractor drivers," "advanced production workers," "outstanding fighters," "models in economizing," etc., who will lay bricks and tiles for the magnificent mansion that our four modernizations is, this mansion will remain merely an unattainable castle in the sky. And furthermore: every one of the specialists and experts is not born as such, but has to undergo a lengthy period of great efforts. The fervent love of the people, the "spirit of the screw" that loves the particular job to which one is assigned and tries to improve in this job, this is exactly what every scientist cannot do without in the course of his development. We cannot imagine that anything can be achieved by a man whose mind is only on money, whose only thought is for fame and fortune, who is only half-heartedly doing his job, or who is not persistent and resolute. It is even more important that every man of specialized learning should be imbued with the Lei Feng spirit of fervent love for party, fatherland and socialism and the spirit of wholehearted service for the people. Marx once said: "History recognizes as great men those personalities who have enobled themselves by working for the welfare of the commonwealth." "If a person works only for himself, he may of course become a famous scholar, philosopher or outstanding poet, but he will never become a

perfect and truly great personality." We cannot imagine that any socialist modernization can be built up merely by relying on science and technology without the Lei Feng spirit and without a high degree of socialist spiritual culture. We also cannot imagine that a man who lacks the spirit of serving the people, lacks the ideals of communism, strives only for personal fame and fortune, or is even skeptical of the socialist system and lacks patriotism, can effectively contribute his skill and specialization for the benefit of the four modernizations of our fatherland. The Lei Feng spirit is a mighty force that impels every single revolutionary to study theories, study science, study cultural subjects, study technology, master the true skills that are needed in serving the people and that will bring forth a large number of talents who are both Red and expert, to serve the four modernizations. The Lei Feng spirit not only played an active role in the past, but must also be continuously cultivated now that we are engaged in work for the four modernizations!

After the Soviet Union gained victory in the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out that since the proletariat had seized all political power, it was possible for the first time to have examples display their extensive influence. Such examples can be, and in fact will certainly become our "guidance, teachers and promoters." ("Lenin's Selected Works," Vol 3, p 513) The communist fighter Lei Feng, who was nurtured by our party, is a model for us to emulate. We believe that if we proceed under the correct guidance of our party Central Committee along the lines, principles and policies decided upon at the 30 Plenum of the 11th CCP Central Committee, and if the entire party, all members of the armed forces and the people of all nationalities throughout our entire country will study Lei Feng, establish a new style of behavior, actively participate in the building up of a socialist spiritual culture, we shall certainly be able to advance more forcefully in the great cause of our four modernizations and build up our country into a socialist country with a high level of material civilization and spiritual culture.

Teaches Youth

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Jin Ge [6855 2047], "Be the Lei Feng of the Eighties"]

[Excerpts] Lei Feng was a great communist fighter who grew up nurtured by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. The Lei Feng spirit reflects the finest traditions of the Chinese people, the world outlook of the proletariat and the ethics and customs of socialism. Although his life was of short duration, Lei Feng's was a glorious life. With the realities of all his actions during his own lifetime he scored a victory for the spirit of communism.

The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, such as Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Liu Shaoqi, Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Zhu De, have in their time highly appreciated Comrade Lei Feng and appealed to the broad masses of our youths "to learn from Comrade Lei Feng." For many years the Lei Feng spirit inspired millions and tens of thousands of our youths. Comrade Lei Feng is like a banner and road sign for our youths as they forge ahead. The broad masses of

our youths, forging ahead in the new long march, must without fail heed the appeal of the party and unswervingly learn from Comrade Lei Feng.

To learn from Lei Feng is to emulate his class stand, which enabled him to distinguish clearly what to love and what to hate, and his spirit of being master of one's own affairs with concern for the affairs of party and state. In a dedication to Lei Feng, the first words that Comrade Zhou Enlai said were: "From Comrade Lei Feng we must learn the class stand that distinguishes clearly what to love and what to hate." Lei Feng fervently loved the party and had pledged to "always heed the party," "eternal loyalty to the party," and to fight all his life for the cause of the party. Lei Feng fervently loved the people; he put the interests of the people above all else, and regarded it as the greatest happiness to be able to serve the people. He had resolved "to live for the people and to die for the people." Lei Feng fervently loved his great socialist fatherland; he was extremely concerned for the prospects and the fate of his fatherland and resolved to "dedicate his lovely youth to the most magnificent cause of his fatherland." In times of the country's economic difficulties, he economized on clothes and food in an effort to lighten the burden of the state. He expressed it well when he said: "These are difficult times for our state, and since we are the masters of the country, we must in every respect consider the interests of the state." In short, Lei Feng was passionately devoted to the party, to the country and to the masses, but he showed bitter hatred toward the enemy, toward words, deeds or hideous phenomena that could be harmful to the party and to the country. He completely carried out his own promise: be like "the warmth of spring" toward the party, the people and comrades, be "cold and merciless like severe winter" toward the enemy. Learning Comrade Lei Feng's spirit of clearly distinguishing between what is to be loved and what is to be hated will increase our fervent love of the party, of our fatherland and of the people. There is now a certain erroneous ideological trend in our society that generally denies and opposes the four basic principles. In view of this ideological trend, our youths should maintain a sober head, not float along with the current, and not make a stormy sea stormier, but rather adopt a clear-cut stand in firmly upholding the four basic principles. At the present time when we are faced with the arduous task of readjusting the national economy, the youths still have many problems of immediate concern to them that could not yet be solved, as for instance, transferring to a higher school, employment, salary, living quarters, etc. The youths have their own difficulties, as the state has its own difficulties. We should make allowances for the difficulties of the state and correctly deal with the relationships between individual interests and the country's interests, temporary interests and long-term interests, local interests and the interests of the whole, and in the manner of Comrade Lei Feng, as masters of one's own affairs, share the cares and burdens of the party and help the country overcome its difficulties.

To study Lei Feng is to emulate his clear purpose of life, his staunch revolutionary convictions, and his lofty communist ideals. Lei Feng held that a proletarian revolutionary fighter must be "imbued with the lofty ideal of devoting his life to the cause of proletarian revolution." Lei Feng was imbued with a firm belief in the party and in the revolutionary cause. As his own motto he chose the famous dictum of martyr Fand Zhimin, "I can give up

everything, but never the party, the class and the revolutionary cause," and "Be prepared at any moment to sacrifice everything of your own for the interests of the party and the class." Lei Feng experienced 3 years of difficulties. In those months and years of difficulties, the country was in a rather grave economic state and the livelihood of the masses extremely difficult. All this did not shake in the slightest his confidence in the party and his belief in the revolutionary cause; it did not in the slightest affect his resolution to fight for communism, and did not in the slightest destroy his fighting spirit which drove him courageously forward. It was exactly at that grim time that he joined the proletarian vanguard and enlisted in the party. And it was exactly these difficulties and hardships that tempered his revolutionary resolve and tested his revolutionary firmness. Victory bells seldom test a man's moral integrity, but reverses and difficulties are often the best touchstone. Comrade Lei Feng underwent this grim test. A revolutionary spirit that is as unswerving and hard as rock as this one, must be extolled. A country that lacks the spirit to forge ahead will not be able to maintain its foothold among the many nations of the world. The life of a man has lost all its value if he has lost all convictions and ideals. Firm convictions and lofty ideals can keep alive the fervor of youth. If his ideals have withered and his beliefs have been shaken, a man will decline before he gets old. If our youths do not want to let down the party and the people, if they are determined to let the spring of their lives shine in splendid brightness, they should emulate comrade Lei Feng, be firm in their revolutionary convictions, foster lofty ideals and make good use of their intelligence and abilities to write their own record in the books of history.

To study Lei Feng means to emulate his sacrificing his own interests for the sake of others and his communist style of working selflessly for the public interest. During his lifetime, Lei Feng did not perform any world-shaking deeds, but by every word and deed of his at his very ordinary post he expressed the communist working style of sacrificing his own interests for the sake of others and of working selflessly for the public interest. In a world of ordinary things he evinced greatness and in his actions he evinced a noble spirit. For instance, one severe winter on a day of ice and snow and a piercingly cold northwind, he sacrificed his own hands which became painfully frozen stiff, in order to be able to give his own gloves to an old man who was completely unknown to him. Once on the road in a raging rainstorm, he braved wind and rain himself, enabling him to wrap his raincoat around the shoulders of a strange woman and her child, whom he met by chance. He would begrudge himself apples issued by his company and bring them to the hospital to comfort the wounded and sick. Ordinarily, he would economize on food and other things and would never spend money extravagantly, but when he heard of a calamity in a certain place, he sent his savings of 100 yuan to the stricken area without the slightest hesitation.... Some have called him a fool, but he himself believed "the revolution needs this kind of 'fools,' and the construction also needs this kind of 'fools.'" He willingly and gladly made himself this kind of a "fool." He was determined to be a man utterly devoted to others without any thought of self and wholeheartedly serving the people. The noble communist workstyle of Comrade Lei Feng brilliantly displayed the radiance of the socialist spiritual culture and made a deep impression on everyone. We hope that even more of our young comrades will study and emulate this spirit. In our efforts at socialist modernizations we

want to achieve not only a high degree of material civilization, but also a high degree of spiritual culture, and the communist workstyle of sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others and working selflessly for the public interest is an important part of the content of that socialist spiritual culture. Youth is the important time when a person's world outlook is formed. It is at this time that ideological cultivation must be strengthened, paying attention to matters of culture, to polite manners, to hygiene, to orderly conduct, to morality, to achieve excellence in spirit, in linguistic expression, in behavior, in one's environment, and strive to be vanguard in building up a socialist spiritual culture.

To learn from Lei Feng means to emulate his "spirit of the nail," push on hard and drive in hard, assiduously study cultural and scientific knowledge and make efforts to become adept at serving the people. It was Lei Feng's opinion, "that to be even more effective in serving the people, one must have not only a perfect ideology but also superb technological skill." It is for this reason that he cultivated the skill of pushing on hard and driving in hard like a nail, and that he assiduously studied how to be of service to the people, determined to become "a revolutionary fighter, both Red and expert." Practical experience has shown that it is not possible to pursue the revolution or the four modernization projects without knowledge, and that it is again not possible to acquire knowledge and master skills without the "spirit of the nail." In recent years, the thirst for knowledge among our youths is very strong and their interest in studies very intense, with outstanding results. Many youths are indeed drawing on this "spirit of the nail" in overcoming various difficulties and have gone the way of self-study to acquire special qualifications. However, there are also some youths who pace about irresolutely and lament their fate outside the doors to the treasury of knowledge. Youth is the time of vim and vigor, of quick and agile intellectual strength, it is just the right time to acquire knowledge. Considered in this respect, we must not fail to utilize this glorious time of youth, but must diligently study and train, and exert great efforts to raise the cultural level of the entire Chinese nation. Considered from yet another aspect, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had an adverse effect on our youths as they laid waste our entire educational enterprise. We must therefore redouble our efforts to make good the time that was lost. There are definitely many difficulties in learning scientific and cultural knowledge, but I believe if we only muster Comrade Lei Feng's "spirit of the nail," we will certainly be able to force open for us the large doors to the treasury of knowledge.

Lei Feng's glorious image has implanted itself deeply in the minds of the broad masses of our youths. Lei Feng's communist spirit has affected and stimulated thousands and ten thousands of our youths. Whether in the past, the present or the future, Lei Feng will always be our banner for what we must study and emulate. On our road of the four modernization projects, we must study the Lei Feng spirit, advance on the Lei Feng road, and strive to be Lei Fengs of the eighties.

8453

CSO: 4005

YOUNG PEOPLE URGED TO BUILD SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 10 Mar 81 p 1

[Article: "Serve as Vanguard in Building a Spiritual Civilization"]

[Text] On the eve of the 18th anniversary of the appeal of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao to "learn from Comrade Lei Feng [7191 6912], the Chengdu municipal committee of the Communist Youth League held an "Experience Exchange Meeting of the Young People of Chengdu City to Learn from Lei Feng and Create a New Trend." The 100 plus young people coming from all fronts in the city who made obvious achievements in learning from Lei Feng and creating a new trend in the past year discussed their own experiences at the meeting.

At the meeting, Wang Xianming [3769 3759 2494], a student of the Chengdu Physical Education College, Liu Guoxing [0491 0948 5281], league group chief of Changwusan team, Huangtu commune, Longquanyi district, Ji Tianming [1323 3944 2494], people's policeman of the Third Precinct public security team, Municipal Public Security Bureau, Qu Min [4234 2404], communications policeman of the Municipal Public Security Bureau, Yin Xianfeng [1438 7359 7685], league branch secretary of Rongcheng Restaurant, Liu Guanghui [0491 0342 1920], league branch secretary of the Child Care Section, Xindu Machine Plant, Su Cheng [5685 2052], league branch secretary of the Shengdong Office of the Municipal Bank, Zhu Hua [2612 2901], biology student of Sichuan University, Jiang Tao [3068 3447], a student of Shengping Street Elementary School, Zhao Deyu [6392 1795 3768], brigade counselor at Zhongxin First Elementary School, Shaungliu county, and other comrades successively made statements and reported on their activities and experiences in learning from Lei Feng and creating a communist new trend. In the afternoon of 12 January, Wang Xianming, a student of the Chengdu Physical Education College, discovered several rascals robbing the Xinqiao Tea House. He rushed into the tea house and courageously fought the rascals and, with the aid of the masses, caught three of them. The Chengdu municipal league committee conferred on him the title of "Model Communist Youth Leaguer." The league group of Changwusan team, Huangtu commune, persistently learned from Lei Feng throughout the year, voluntarily undertook the care of the four orphans of the team, and enabled them to study contentedly, grow soundly and feel the warmth and happiness of socialism. The commune members praised them for "learning from Lei Feng and practicing what they have learned."

Comrade Xiong Yuzhong [3574 1342 1813], secretary of the Chengdu municipal party committee, made a statement. He asked the league organizations of all levels and the broad young people throughout the city to further recognize the momentous significance of "learning from Lei Feng and creating a new trend" in the new era, develop the glorious traditions and intensively launch the "five-attention" and "four-beauty" activities, to start with themselves, begin now, and accumulate bit by bit in the work and daily life of the staff and workers, and to produce a vanguard effect in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

6080

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN PARTY LEADER SPEAKS ON POLITICAL STABILITY, UNITY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 9 Mar 81 p 1

[Article by Zou Lishang (6760 0448 3864): "Trade Unions Should Put Ideological and Political Work as Their Top Priority"]

[Text] Xiang Nan (7309 0589), secretary of the standing committee of the Fujian Provincial Party Committee, recently delivered a speech at the Fourth Enlarged Standing Committee Meeting of the Sixth Fujian Provincial Trade Union Council, calling on trade union councils at all levels throughout Fujian Province to give first place to ideological and political work, mobilize the broad masses of workers and staff members to uphold the four basic principles, and maintain political stability and unity as a guarantee of success in readjusting the economy.

Comrade Xiang Nan said: In the final analysis, the work of trade unions is a task that has to do with people. As the readjustment of the economy is underway, it is inevitable that the broad masses of workers may have questions of all kinds in their minds. Thorough and meticulous efforts must be made to strengthen ideological and political work among the workers. Efforts must also be made to help the broad masses of workers throughout the province to raise their awareness of classes and to uphold the four basic principles, so that they will become activists in maintaining stability and unity and in readjusting the economy.

He added that political stability and unity are conditions that will make possible the readjustment of the economy, which will in turn guarantee political stability. He listed the following specific requirements that take into account Fujian Province's actual conditions as a step in improving the functions of trade unions in the course of economic readjustment: 1) it is necessary to preserve stability and unity; 2) it is essential to grasp the readjustment of the economy as the central task throughout the year; 3) Fujian must demonstrate its superior power in developing the light economic structure; 4) the importation of technology should be accompanied by the renovation of old enterprises; 5) enterprises should be encouraged to reorganize and form joint ventures; 6) workers should be encouraged to raise their class awareness and levels of science and technology; 7) attention must be paid to the well-being of workers, and cultural and sports activities should be developed; 8) efforts must be made to build trade unions. He pointed out that the ideological and organizational building of trade unions should be regarded as their primary concern. He hoped that trade union cadres will emancipate their

minds, step up their study, eliminate "leftist" ideological influences, improve democratic centralism, pay attention to their methods of work, keep in touch with the masses, and act as vanguards through hard struggle. He also hoped that trade union cadres will gradually be elected in a democratic style. He called on party committees at all levels to attach great importance to the work done by trade unions. He said: Under the leadership of the party, trade unions will enjoy a certain degree of independence. Congresses of workers should be scheduled and convened regularly. The economic and administrative work of enterprises should be placed under the supervision of trade unions. Trade unions must dare to speak for the workers and must do so with professional skill. He said: Party committees should help trade unions consolidate and strengthen their leading groups. They should refrain from transferring a large number of cadres from trade unions to the countryside too frequently or assigning them to engage in other central tasks, so that they can be in a better position to organize themselves.

Comrade Xiang Nan said: In the course of economic readjustment, much needs to be done by the trade unions. Some enterprises are being closed, suspended, or merged or are having their ownership transferred to other enterprises. In this connection, the workload of their trade unions will be increased rather than reduced. They must make greater conscientious efforts to help these enterprises carry out the ideological education and technical training of their workers. They must devote their full time to concentrating workers to study politics, technology, and culture, as well as to reorganizing their plants and repairing equipment.

Comrade Xiang Nan said that the relationship between production and private life also needs to be reshaped. Efforts must be made to change the situation in which "only production is emphasized and the living conditions of the workers are neglected." Continuing efforts must be made to improve the living conditions of the masses of workers and to relieve them of their worry about the welfare of their families, so that they can concentrate their energies on developing the four modernizations. At present, special attention must be paid to stabilizing market prices; furthermore, plans must be developed to gradually build more community welfare facilities for the working class and to improve the living conditions of the broad masses of workers.

9574

CSO: 4005/534

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS MUST COOPERATE TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Mar 81 p 3

[Article by Song Zhijian (1345 6753 1017): "Sharing the Same Boat"]

[Text] If our party were a big ship encountering storms and developing engine trouble on the high seas while on its way to the goal of communism, what should we do? Should we gloat over its distress? Allow ourselves to be thrown into panic? Just stand there and watch with folded arms? No! The only correct answer is that we should share the responsibility of this ship.

Sharing the responsibility of this ship means standing with the party, breathing the same breath as the party, and sharing the same destiny as the party in the face of storms and troubles. The so-called "troubles" mean existing problems. The so-called "storms" mean the difficulties we face. Everyone should be concerned and worry about such shortcomings and difficulties, no matter whether he is a son or friend of the party. He must play an active role in overcoming "troubles" and conquering "storms." If everyone does nothing but criticize and boundlessly exaggerate such shortcomings, and if he wants to break with his mother and leave his friends in the face of such difficulties, he is neither a faithful son nor a good friend of the party. Just as we relied on the leadership of the party in carrying out revolutionary struggles in the past, we will need its guidance in developing the four modernizations today. A loss of this faith certainly will not help us overcome troubles and defeat storms. As a result of that, we would end up being spurned by the party and the people.

While sharing the responsibility of the ship, we must also exhibit a firm, cool attitude full of confidence in the face of storms and troubles. Our party is powerful. It demonstrated this power in eliminating chaos and returning order to our country following the 10 years of turmoil. It has also demonstrated this power in awakening us to the potential dangers in the current excellent situation. Evidently, only a thorough Marxist can unreservedly and fearlessly make public his own shortcomings and the difficulties he faces. Isn't such a party worthy of our trust? It is not unusual that when setting a sail on a long voyage, one may face frequent storms. As time goes on, one may also unavoidably experience trouble during the voyage. Although a long-tested fighter can deal with this situation with equanimity, inexperienced youngsters should prepare to face up to it with courage. Just as Lenin once said: We must guard against those people who "gloat over difficulties and frustrations resulting from reforms, spread panic, and advocate turning back the clock."

While sharing the responsibility of the ship, each of us must step forward and do a fair share in overcoming storms and troubles. Several or a dozen leaders, tens of thousands or hundreds of thousands of cadres, and millions upon millions of members who make up the party are like helmsmen, first mates, and crew members on the ship. On this big ship on its voyage to the goal of communism, there are no passengers but crew members, each assigned to a specific post or to discharge a specific duty. None of them is omnipotent or can perform miracles. This big ship cannot move forward by relying on a few people alone. Everyone should be concerned about and do his fair share in resolving and overcoming presently existing problems and difficulties. Just worrying about the difficulties faced by the party is far from enough. We must do everything possible to overcome these difficulties. If each of us can contribute to boosting the power of this big ship and can share its burdens, we can certainly turn peril into safety, easily steer it forward, and translate communist ideals into reality.

Confucius said: "When my doctrine makes no headway, I will float adrift on a raft in the sea. You will be the only one who accompanies me." When one's doctrine makes no headway, one will invariably feel lonesome. But this is not our case. Since its birth, the Chinese Communist Party has brought happiness to the people, has scored outstanding successes, and has pursued a just cause. In its history of nearly 60 years, it has made countless people its sons and reliable friends through a series of storms and has relied on them to overcome such storms. Today, in the face of new storms, many and many more faithful and enthusiastic people will work with one heart and one mind in coordination with the party. Relying on this elite force to mobilize millions upon millions of people, our party is certainly capable of steering clear of submerged reefs and breaking through storms to victory.

9574

CSO: 4005/534

PARTY AND STATE

FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THE WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 16, 15 Dec 80
p 21-30

[Article by Huang Yifeng [7806 6654 1496] and Jiang Feng [1203 6912]:
"Correctly Evaluate Positive Aspects of the Westernization Movement--
A Reply to Comrade Xu Tailai [1776 3141 0171]"]

[Text] Volume 4 of LISHIYANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in 1980 published an article by Comrade Xu Tailai titled "Further Discussion of the Westernization Movement" (hereafter the Xu article). The Xu article is in reply to our article "An Evaluation of the Westernization Movement" which appeared in LISHI YANJIU, Vol 2, 1979. After reading the Xu article we concluded that he has bravely liberated his thinking, given complete approval of the westernization movement and has offered new views of his own. This is beneficial in carrying out a deep discussion of the westernization movement and is worthy of approbation. However, we do not feel that we have been persuaded by the viewpoint of the Xu article and wish to carry out further discussion. All the same, there is now no lack of people in the scholarly world who are in agreement with the Xu article. Some comrades believe that the westernization movement is a continuation of the landlord reform faction of such people as Gong Zizhen, Lin Zixu and Wei Yuan and place the westernization movement in the same category as the Reform Movement of 1898 and the 1911 Revolution. Some comrades thoroughly approve of the westernization ideology of Li Hongzhang. The list could go on. Because of this, we wish to take this opportunity to make a further clarification of our original point of view and thus advance the discussion of the nature and function of the westernization movement.

The Westernization Movement is Not a Progressive Movement

Our understanding of research on the westernization movement is that we should correctly apply the stand, viewpoint and methods of dialectical materialism and historical materialism to make a truthful and appropriate all-round evaluation. We have always believed that the westernization movement in modern China has primarily been a reactionary one but one that objectively does have a progressive aspect. Regarding the historical development of modern China the westernization movement has primarily had a negative function but objectively it also has had a positive function. We must make an all-round historical evaluation of this movement.

We are in agreement with the great quantity of progressive and positive historical evidence regarding the westernization movement mentioned in the Xu article. We have already discussed the great majority of them ourselves. Where we disagree with the Xu article is in the inappropriate overstatement of the objective, progressive and positive aspects of the westernization movement, offering the conclusion that "it was a progressive movement."

Was the nature and function of the westernization movement in the developmental process of modern Chinese society actually reactionary and negative or was it progressive and positive? This is to say, which aspect was actually the primary one? In order to answer these questions properly the westernization movement must be weighed in terms of the entire scope of all modern China. Starting in 1840 modern China was faced with the historical task of changing a feudal society into a modern society, which is to say a capitalist society. This historical task of modernization was to be carried out under the specific social conditions existing in modern China. These specific social conditions were: (1) Under the leadership of England the western capitalist imperialist powers broke down the gates of China and gradually assumed a position of control. (2) There was a continuation of the two thousand year-old thoroughly obstinate feudalistic political and economic power structure. (3) The womb of the feudal economy nurtured the fetus of capitalism for over three hundred years until it reached the stage when it could be summoned forth. (4) The Chinese people have a superior cultural tradition reaching back five thousand years and have a strong spirit of resistance to foreign incursions. Because of these specific social conditions the process of China's modernization from the very first manifested two different lines. One line was that of semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism and the other line was that of the independent development of capitalism. The first line was carried out and supported by foreign powers and by native feudalist powers with the two combining to produce the bureaucratic-comprador capitalist power. The latter line was carried out and supported by native capitalist forces and by the broad masses who wished to oppose imperialism and oppose feudalism. The former line planned to carry out modernization by relying on foreign powers and by protecting the base of the native feudal powers. This represents the reactionary tendencies of China's modernization. The latter line wished to build an independent capitalist nation on an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal foundation. This represents the progressive tendencies of China's modernization. The history of 109 years of modern China is basically the history of the struggle between these two lines. These two lines are the scale by which any political movement or political faction is determined to be reactionary or progressive and the westernization movement of course is no exception.

Whether one looks at the westernization movement from its motivation and goals or from its effective results, its main feature is that it promoted the semi-colonial, semi-feudal modernization line and did not promote the independent development of capitalization line. In this regard the westernization movement had three evil consequences

for modern China. One evil consequence was that it united the foreign aggressors in their armed repression of peasant uprisings, such as the Taiping Peasant Rebellion and that of the Nian Armies, which were characterized by bourgeois-democratic reforms. The Qing government was then in a dangerous position and this enabled them to extend their corrupt feudal dictatorship for another 50 years. Objectively this could not but aid feudalistic despotism and injure the progress of the people's revolution. A second evil consequence of the westernization movement was that it determined and supported a semi-colonial social order which permitted foreign capitalistic imperialism to deploy the powers of foreign aggression in China and gradually develop control over Chinese economic, political and military affairs. A third evil consequence was that it initiated the formation of early bureaucrat-comprador capital and the beginnings of the bureaucrat-comprador capitalist class. The 35 years from the beginning of the westernization movement to its defeat are none other than the period in which modern China declined deeply into semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism. When we say that the westernization movement was a reactionary movement in modern Chinese history and sum it up in terms of five evil products this is made according to great quantities of historical evidence from the westernization movement itself and is no mere theory. The members of the westernization faction such as Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang who were the main supporters of the westernization movement not only carried out the semi-colonial semi-feudal modernization line but moreover were the first persons sacrificed to it. The reactionary direction of this line is found externally in its connections with capitalistic imperialism and its cooperation with and surrender to foreign aggressors. Internally it protected the feudal power structure, repressed the people's revolution, employed western up-to-date production technology and gradually developed bureaucrat-comprador capital funds. This reactionary direction found its beginnings in the westernization movement and progressed through the northern warlords and the reactionary faction of the Nationalist Party, and all of the larger and smaller reactionary dictator cliques of old China. Once this reactionary legacy reached its full development it became a serious obstacle to the implementation of the independent development of the capitalist modernization line.

These are the results obtained by evaluating the westernization movement within the broad scope of modern China and the result of evaluating it in terms of these two lines of modernization. The historical facts are quite clear. In the progress of the development of modern Chinese society the nature and role of the westernization movement undeniably was primarily a reactionary and negative movement. Because of this we cannot agree to calling the westernization movement a "bourgeois movement" or a "movement of a progressive nature" and I cannot completely agree to discussing the westernization movement in connection with the Reform of 1898 and the 1911 Revolution. This is because the Reform of 1898 and the 1911 Revolution did not follow the semi-colonial, semi-feudal line but rather followed the line of independent development of capitalism and were the two instances of bourgeois movements in modern Chinese history. Even though the Reform of 1898

was one from above to below and even though the movement's initiators eventually wound up joining up the pro-imperial faction, nonetheless, generally speaking, it is worthy of being called a movement of enlightenment by the modern Chinese bourgeoisie.

If we disagree with the statement that the westernization movement was a progressive one, doesn't this negate our repeated emphasis on its aspects of progressiveness and positiveness? Doesn't this substantiate the Xu article's accusations that we are "self-contradictory" and "unable to justify our views"? Our reply is in the negative. The reason is that since we see its reactionary and negative aspects we then cannot agree to giving full approval and including it with the progressive movements. Furthermore, because of the objective existence of the positive and negative aspects we consequently cannot agree with making outright condemnation. When crudely considered this sort of analysis may seem somewhat "self-contradictory" but if a more careful examination is made the considerable historical aspects will be understood. This is the "original appearance of objective history" rather than "objective history overlaid with manmade contradictions." Only by examining the problems from these two aspects can there be an appropriate all-over evaluation, any agreement with historical reality, solid ground to stand on and "self-justification."

There are a few other points in the Xu article regarding the positive nature of the westernization movement which are worthy of discussion.

1. The Xu article believes that the early period bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and the early period bureaucratic bourgeois representative characters "really cannot be spoken of in the same breath" as the later bureaucratic capitalists under the leadership of the four great families of the Nationalist Party, and they were reactionary in different ways. "They had some relationships but there were differences, the historical conditions were different and they had opposing social standing and functions." Taking the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company as an example it should be pointed out that under the control of the westernization faction, this company's "resistance to the powers of the foreign capitalist aggressors and its role in the development of social production are qualities entirely lacking in the bureaucratic capitalists led by the four great families of the Nationalist Party. The question here is whether or not the representative members of the westernization movement of the early period bureaucrat comprador capitalists and the later bureaucrat comprador capitalists of the four great families had similar reactionary natures? According to the logic of the Xu article the reply is in the negative. We however believe that although the two were related and had their differences, that even though their historical conditions, social standing and social functions were not entirely similar, however they did share the same reactionary qualities and it was merely a matter of degree. This is because the two special characteristics of the Chinese bureaucrat

comprador capitalist's reactionary nature--comprador nature and feudal nature--clearly existed in the early period bureaucrat-comprador capitalists. The bureaucrat comprador capitalists of the four great families simply possessed these qualities in greater degree, a matter of the students surpassing their teachers. As far as the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company is concerned it is very hard to distinguish the periods when it was under control of the westernization faction and when it was under the control of the Nationalist Party.

2. The Xu article says, "During the period of the westernization movement Chinese capitalism made developments and the Chinese proletariat and bourgeoisie also made developments...., to say that the westernization movement was a reaction to the direction of history perhaps does not agree with the historical facts." Quite right, the westernization movement objectively followed the tide of developments in Chinese capitalism and moreover had a certain progressive role. However, within the social conditions of modern China is it possible to look at all features of capitalism as progressive? According to the logic of the Xu article and other articles which completely approve of the westernization movement, this tendency more or less did exist, yet the historical case can only be in the negative. This is because there existed in modern China three types of capitalism each with its own characteristics, and these were foreign capitalism, bureaucrat-comprador capitalism and native capitalism. The order of appearance was that first there were foreign capitalists then there were bureaucrat-comprador capitalists and finally native capitalists. Foreign capitalists were aggressive capitalists with thoroughly reactionary characteristics. The early period bureaucrat-comprador capitalists which accompanied the westernization movement, as described above, were also primarily characterized by their reactionary nature. Only the native capitalists can represent the progressive tendencies in the independent development of capitalism in modern China. This was a progressive factor which stimulated Chinese social developments and which was in opposition to the other two types of capitalism. At the same time, during the westernization movement the native capitalists were the weakest of the three types of capitalists, and their role in the westernization movement should not be over-evaluated.

3. In order to emphasize the progressive significance of the westernization movement the Xu article drew up seven progressive functions of the westernization movement. All these are historically factual. Of these, however, quite a few were objective functions started by the westernization movement which, according to the leaders of the westernization movement, turned out entirely "contrary to their wishes." For example, the attack on the feudal system and the feudal rites was entirely contrary to the subjective motivation of the westernization movement to protect and strengthen the feudal dictatorship. This supports the objective rules of social development. Actually, various factors play an objective role in the transformation of the old, backward feudal economy and in promoting the

development of capitalism. Not only was there the westernization movement there also were the aggressive foreign capitalists. Comrade Mao Zedong long ago wrote of this in his well-known article ZHONGGUO GEMING HE ZHONGGUO GONGCHANDANG [THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY]. Without question, we cannot say that because the aggressive foreign capitalists had this objective role they then were progressive. The westernization movement of course cannot be equated with the aggressive foreign capitalists. It must be correctly evaluated in this regard, but it should not be over-evaluated and should not be concluded to be a movement of a progressive nature because of this.

4. The Xu article opposes our suggestion that "the westernization movement was an evil product which was initiated and supported by the infamous executioners and traitors Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang." The Xu article believes that this "evaluates an issue on the basis of the personalities involved" and is not in accord with the principles of seeking truth from the facts. The Xu article advocates the view that "Li Hongzhang was a traitor because he signed the Maguan [7456 7070] Treaty but this does not mean that the westernization movement was traitorous. This is because the signing of the Maguan treaty does not equal the substance of the westernization movement." We believe that this opinion is unsupportable. This is because the westernization movement was a multi-faceted overall political movement which included economics, politics, military affairs and culture as well as foreign relations and domestic government so that no part can be treated separately. Since the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and the signing of the Maguan Treaty were key factors in the success or failure of the westernization movement, how can it be said that they were not a substantive part of the westernization movement? At the same time, the westernization movement was inseparably linked with the leaders of the westernization faction Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang so the reactionary activities of these people could not but influence the reactionary nature of the westernization movement. The suggestions we made above depict but one aspect of the reactionary nature of the westernization movement and moreover are historical facts known to everyone. This is why one cannot talk of "evaluating an issue on the basis of the personalities involved." We of course agree with the statement in the Xu article that "It is necessary to destroy such preconceptions as found in the statement that all activities initiated by and participated in by persons of a reactionary nature are therefore reactionary." It is because of this that we oppose the viewpoint of wholesale rejection of the westernization movement. However, we also must not ascribe the evil deeds perpetrated by these reactionary people during the course of the westernization movement to them alone and say that such deeds were unrelated to the movement.

5. The Xu article says "the so-called 'reaction' was contrary to the tides of history and compare it to the overthrow of things which were progressive at that time. We must ask, during the sixth decade of the 19th century, what reactionary thing were there that caused the westernization movement to oppose them and become reactionary? There

were none. It must be said that even any completely feasible (emphasis by the original author) progressive thought did not exist. Any such thought that did exist belonged to the westernization faction." This is contrary to historical conditions. Around the time of the first Opium War, those well-known "reformers" Gong Zizhen, Lin Zixu and Wei Yuan rallied around the slogan "use barbarian technology to control the barbarians." Wasn't this the progressive thought that Lin Zixu so effectively carried out in the period before the war? If it were not for the chaos and harm caused by the capitalists in the landlord class modern China would perhaps have a different appearance. There was no lack of people with progressive thought. Did not the Shield King Hong Rengan of the Taiping Tianguo in 1859 offer his "New Financial Administration" which was an outline for the development of capitalism? Did not the early period Rong Hong once make seven suggestions for the development of capitalism to the Taiping Tianguo and moreover suggest to Zeng Guofan the establishment of a machine tool plant? It should be said that the semi-colonial, semi-feudal direction of the westernization movement should be described as a reversal of the above mentioned ideology! It should be pointed out that such slogans as "self-strengthening," "resist foreign aggression" and "seek wealth" suggested by the westernization movement as well as the loudly trumpeted call to utilize modern foreign production technology, create modern industries and to establish a new military system was enthusiastically supported by all modern people throughout the nation. Yet when the westernization movement evinced an increasing tendency towards semi-colonialism and semi-feudalism progressive opinion then turned into severe criticism, even from participants in the westernization movement such as Rong Hong, Deng Guanying, Ma Jianzhong and Xue Fucheng who continually made sharp criticisms. All of this demonstrates that the westernization movement which led modern China toward a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society definitely was not the progressive thought of those times. The only truly progressive thought was that which sought to lead modern China toward the independent development of capitalism.

There Should be an Appropriate Evaluation of the Westernization Movement and the Three-Sided Relationship

We also cannot completely agree with the Xu article's evaluation of the relationship between the westernization movement and the three aspects of the foreign aggressors, national capitalists and the feudal faction.

Let us first discuss the relationships with the foreign aggressors.

We have repeatedly emphasized the contradictions and struggle between the westernization movement and the foreign aggressors. We think and still think we do not disagree with the Xu article. However, we also point out the dependency and relationship of the westernization movement and moreover see these as primary, whereas the Xu article strives to deny this aspect, to deny it as the product of a mutual relationship between Chinese feudal pur-

and foreign aggressors. The Xu article moreover strongly emphasizes the idea that it was the product of contradictions between these two. This is contrary to historical fact.

During the westernization movement the westernization faction consistently adopted a policy of compromise with and capitulation to the foreign aggressors. This is the most obvious demonstration of the relationships and connections the westernization movement had with the foreign aggressors and also is a clear example of the support in the westernization movement of semi-colonial, semi-feudal reactionary policies. This policy was determined by the leaders of the westernization faction Yi Xu, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang at the outset of the westernization movement, at which time they also formulated the so-called theory of "humbly seeking peace." Unfortunately, the price of supporting their so-called peaceful relations between China and the foreigners steadily progressed until it reached the acme in which the Nala clan formulated its reactionary formula "better to give China to the foreigners than hand it over to the family slaves." It should be pointed out here that we do not oppose supporting peaceful relations in order to study the west and to carry out construction of modernization, what we oppose is the way in which the westernization faction "humbly sought peace." Quite right, after suppressing the internal mass revolutions the westernization faction continued to build national strength by building new armed forces and establishing a modern weapons industry. They also developed quite a number of such theories as "self-strengthening" and "overcoming humiliation" which on the surface appeared to be directed toward the foreign aggressors. However, all such acts of theirs which were intended to seek peace through strength, as expressed in the words of Li Hongzhang, "What appears to be a peaceful condition actually is our strategy," and "they heap insult upon insult but we make no response," only demonstrate a thorough lack of determination to resist the foreign aggressors. Another goal of these actions was to broaden the strength of their clique in order to strengthen and enhance their feudal status. Li Hongzhang therefore wished only to protect the Beiyang Basin during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 with the consequence that the Beiyang Army which had been built up at national expense was entirely eliminated and never performed its function of "overcoming humiliation" and "self-strengthening."

There is a great quantity of historical facts which prove that the westernization faction adopted a line of compromise and surrender in dealing with the foreign aggressors. The consequences were quite serious: the lands of the Chinese people were all but delivered into their hands. During the period of westernization over 1.5 million square li of territory in Northeast and Northwest China was occupied by Imperial Russia. Taiwan and the Penghus were given to Japan. The Liaoning peninsula and Luxun-Dalian were leased by Russia and Japan. Jiaozhou Wan, Guangzhou Wan and Weihaiwei were leased to foreign nations. Various countries carved out their spheres of influence and China was in danger of being divided up. Commerical ports and foreign concessions were to be found everywhere and the customs authority was

completely usurped by foreigners. Inland navigation rights were held by foreigners and foreign products filled Chinese marketplaces. Foreigners were permitted to open factories, operate schools and publish newspapers and carry out missionary activities throughout China. They enjoyed extraterritoriality. It seemed that all political, economic and cultural prerogatives had been lost. A large indemnity also was paid to foreign nations. All in all this was a loss of power and a national insult of the highest possible magnitude! Of course, these disasterous events were not entirely the fault of the westernization faction and the corrupt dictatorship of the Qing government should also be thoroughly be blamed. Nonetheless, the westernization faction was in power at that time and must therefore bear the brunt of the blame. These distressing events were a source of much sorrow for many generations of modern Chinese people. In the face of all these disasterous events how can the westernization movement be called a movement of a progressive nature"? How can it be said that the westernization movement was the product of struggles against and contradictions with the foreign invaders? This also substantiates our explanation that the westernization movement did away with the patriotic spirit of Wei Yuan and the others to "control the barbarians" and replaced it with the traitorous spirit of "compromising with the barbarians" and "surrendering to the barbarians." There is abundant historical evidence of this so we believe that the westernization faction cannot be called the heirs of the landlord reform faction.

The Xu article offers the examples of training troops, tool and weapon manufacture, shipbuilding, mining, the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company and the Textile Bureau as evidence that the westernization movement was not a product of mutual relationships between China's feudal forces and the foreign aggressors but was the product of contradiction and contention between the two. We do not in any way dispute the contradiction and contention. The problem lies in the outcome of the struggle and contention. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894 revealed the true nature of things. Under the influence of the westernization faction's policy of compromise and surrender the training of troops and manufacture of weapons finally were unable to "eliminate the insults" and the attempt to control foreign mining and factory operations also came to nothing. Don't these events clearly show whether the main relationship between the westernization movement and the foreign aggressors was one of dependence and collaboration or one of contention and contradiction? If the westernization was really as described by the Xu article a product of contention and competition with the foreign aggressors, then perhaps modern Chinese history would be altogether different!

Among the leaders of the westernization faction Li Hongzhang was most in favor of the policy of compromise and surrender and committed the most evil deeds. In 1874 the Japanese invaded Taiwan and Shen Baozhen went to Taiwan with sufficient troops to repel the Japanese, but Li Hongzhang adopted a policy of surrender and did not permit our troops to "open hostilities." Li signed a treaty with Japan which effectively recognized the Ryukyu Islands as a part of Japan. In 1876 Zuo Zong

led troops to Xinjiang to resist British and Russian incursions he also ran into stiff opposition from Lin Hongzhang. In the Sino-French War of 1884 the troops were fighting a winning war on the front lines but Li Hongzhang was seeking peace and signed a treaty between China and France. Li Hongzhang cannot escape responsibility for the lack of determination to fight in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894. The Maguan Treaty which meekly gave up national rights also was signed by Li Hongzhang. Some comrades still accept the words of Li Hongzhang and conclude that his concept of westernization was for those times relatively "enlightened" and "progressive." We believe that this is highly debatable. Even if the westernization ideology and westernization movement of Li Hongzhang were not without some desirable features, he nonetheless is a generally acknowledged traitor in modern Chinese history. This judgement cannot be overturned and also should not be overturned. The main concern of modern Chinese history is resistance to the foreign aggressors and in either patriotic or traitorous matters this remains a general standard for evaluating political people and political events. Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang as well as the westernization movement which they supported can in no way be classified as patriotic and can only be classified as traitorous. Of course, some leaders of the westernization movement such as Zuo Zongtang and Shen Baozhen did dare to oppose the foreign aggressors. The Xu article suggests making concrete analysis rather than considering the westernization faction to be synonymous with capitulation and national betrayal and this is quite correct. However, the example given is that of Zeng Guofan's opposition in 1861 to the formation of a "Chinese-British Fleet." This supposedly explains that Zeng Guofan stood in contradiction to the foreign aggressors but this is not too appropriate because Zeng Guofan was the founder and a positive supporter within the westernization movement of surrender and capitulation to the foreigners. His opposition to the "Chinese-British Fleet" was not because of any contradiction with England but was because he opposed the direct control of the Qing government over the fleet in the belief that this undermined his authority. This then was only an internal struggle within the westernization faction between the Manchu and Han dictators. One year later, when Zeng Guofan ordered Li Hongzhang to lead the Huai Army to occupy Shanghai didn't the troops depend on British boats for transportation? The Xu article also suggests that consideration should be given to contradictions in the westernization faction's use of the foreign aggressors. In theory this could be considered, however, during the process of actual control by the westernization faction personal contradictions prevented such use and on the contrary deceit and deception resulted in even greater betrayal of national interests. When Li Hongzhang enticed Imperial Russia to control the Japanese the result was a series of disasters. This is only the most obvious example.

Next is the relationships with national capitalists. With regard to this topic our main difference with the Xu article is that we believe that the main effect of the westernization movement on the national capitalists was to restrict them and any encouragement was a secondary function. The Xu article believes just the opposite.

de agree with the historical examples provided by the Xu article in support of the view that the westernization movement encouraged national capitalists, however in terms of the overall tendency the main function was a restrictive one. This can perhaps be explained by the historical evidence relating to bureaucrat-compradors.

The primary form of joint operations between the westernization movement and the national capitalists was the official business enterprise. When Chinese capitalism came into existence and encountered various forms of resistance from the foreign capitalists and the native feudal forces this form appeared very attractive to private investors and the compradors and rich merchants jumped at the opportunity to invest in the official business enterprises. In the first period the 730,000 taels worth of shares in the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company came for the most part from such compradors and businessmen as Tang Tingshu and Xu Jian. After investing in the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company they imagined that they would get at least an annual dividend of over 20 percent and were heard to say, "This is the first company of its kind in thousands of years and will provide dividends for ten thousand generations." (JIAOTONG SHI, HANZHENG PIAN [A HISTORY OF TRANSPORTATION, THE ADMINISTRATION OF SHIPPING, VOL I, p 147-148] The capital for opening coal mines was also put together by such people as Tang and Xu. In 1889 in Shanghai when Tang Tingshu sought capital to open a coal mine he gathered 500,000 taels of capital with no effort at all. The conditions for raising capital for the Shanghai Bureau of Textile Mills were then described as follows: "The amount needed was 400,000 taels but after reaching 500,000 taels investors had to be turned down and connections between business and the people then flourished." (Jing Kuanshan [4842 0337 0310] JUYI CHUJI [1446 2496 0443 7162] Vol 3, p 36) Even such people such as Zheng Guanying who later came to oppose the official business enterprises at first believed that, "The businesses engaged in competition ought to receive the support of official power, the handicraft industries ought to get a boost from the officials." He believed that the official business enterprises should each have an official task and he moreover enthusiastically invested in and participated in these affairs. The westernization faction expanded the official business enterprises and successfully started up over 30 modernized factories and mining enterprises. They had over 100 million yuan of shares which at that time was no small amount of money. This should be seen as the first high tide of investment in Chinese capitalism and as the most obvious example of encouragement of native capitalism by the westernization movement. It is unfortunate that because of the reactionary opportunism and particular goals of the westernization faction that it lacked a clear outline for the development of native capitalism. Their treatment of individual capitalism not only failed to attain the level of "official support" but rather was on the level of "official exploitation", "official control" and "official destruction." Under the control of the corrupt westernization faction bureaucrats the great majority of official business enterprises lost money and went bankrupt or were swallowed up by the feudal government or imperialism. This dashed

hopes of the private capitalists and they were unable to make any progress. The first high tide of investment in the "flowering" of Chinese capitalism had no choice but to admit defeat and leave the field. After the hopes of the Chinese native capitalists for a chance to make some progress under the protection of the "bureaucrat supervision" of the westernization faction were so rudely smashed they could only make very slow and difficult progress while being hampered by foreign aggressor capitalists and Chinese feudalism. Because the past was so inadequate and the future was so unpromising they never were able to succeed in making adequate developments. Doesn't the fate of the official business enterprises provide an adequate explanation of our point of view?

We must strongly emphasize that the Xu article and a few other publications in the investigation of this particular topic always admit the historical truth of the comprador nature and feudal nature of the westernization movement and also admit to recognizing the hampering and obstruction of the smooth development of native capitalism, nonetheless they also absolved the westernization movement of any blame and one-sidedly emphasized its encouragement of native capitalists, saying such things "the bad effects of this pale in comparison to the positive effects that the westernization movement had on the development of native capitalism." A research technique such as this does not pay adequate attention to the facts. If the primary influence of the westernization movement had been to promote the development of native capitalism, then the Chinese westernization movement would have been the equivalent of the Meiji Restoration in Japan and Chinese capitalism would have followed the same road of individual development as Japanese capitalism. This unfortunately was not the case and histories are not written in this fashion.

Let us now discuss the relationship with the die-hard feudal elements. We pointed out early on that the nature of the contention between the westernization faction and the die-hard faction was even more bitter than the dog-eat-dog conditions existing within the feudal dictatorship class and that the westernization movement was strongly affected by the various restrictions and limitations existing within the feudal dictatorship. If some comrades disagree we need only reply, "If the westernization faction ever thought that it could transplant western modern production techniques to China without changing the feudal nature of the Qing government or encountering restrictions and limitations within the feudal dictatorship that would have been very strange." What this means is that western modern production technology is associated with capitalism and most certainly will collide with the feudal system and certainly will incite the opposition of the feudal powers. Because of this the Xu article disagrees with several of our viewpoints: The two factions are in agreement concerning the protection and strengthening of the reactionary goals of the feudal dictatorship but they have obvious differences in the means of reaching these goals. The Xu article believes that the westernization faction "was in conflict with the feudal die-hard faction over motivations and goals" and the argument between the two factions actually was a struggle over whether to encourage development of the production

forces or obstruct development of the production forces." This appears to make the westernization movement into a capitalist movement and make the westernization faction represent capitalist forces. This gives too much status to the westernization movement and the westernization faction. The historical facts are such that the motivations and goals of the westernization faction in carrying out the westernization movement from beginning to end were to protect and strengthen the feudal dictatorship of the Qing government. The leaders of the westernization faction were deeply committed royalists and their actual deeds and the writings they have left behind show no traces of any attempts to disturb the basic feudal system. Their slogan "Chinese studies for spirit and Western studies for function" was not merely for show but actually reflected their true beliefs. The actual result of the westernization movement was to upset the feudal system which was contrary to the wishes and the expectations of the westernization faction. This was the result of objective laws and should not be credited to the westernization faction. To say that the nature of the contention between the westernization faction and the die-hard faction was a struggle between capitalism and feudalism would be relatively correct only if the restriction "objectively" were added.

A Few Other Problems Worth Considering

1. The basic contradiction of the westernization movement. We have said that the westernization faction planned to use the technique of modern western production technology with the goal of protecting and strengthening the feudal dictatorship. The contradiction between this goal and this technique constitute the basic contradiction of the westernization movement and also is the source which lead to its total failure. The Xu article disagrees with this viewpoint of ours and says that the basic contradiction of the westernization movement occurred with the incursions of foreign capitalism and the disintegration of the feudal economy and is manifested in the contradiction between the new conditions in production forces developments and the corrupt feudal production relationships. This was a contradiction between the new-born Chinese capitalism and the incursions of foreign capitalist powers. We believe that the contradiction suggested in the Xu article is the basic contradiction of modern Chinese society rather than a basic contradiction restricted to the westernization movement. The contradiction between the goals and techniques of the westernization movement has objective existence. This contradiction explains how the westernization movement transgressed against the objective law that production relationships must suit the development of the production forces in making their wild plans to "force the tools of modern production and exchange into the old structure of ownership relations" and the wild plan to transplant modern production technology which had been developed from the basis of capitalist production relationships in order to save the corrupt and endangered feudal dictatorship. They vainly sought wealth and power for the feudal state without bringing even the least amount of harm to the feudal system. Consequently this con-

only be "both reactionary and in vain" and it lead to the defeat of the movement. This contradiction is one that existed only between the westernization movement and the foreign aggressors and between native capitalists and the feudal die-hard faction and is one that was limited to the inner workings of the westernization faction's modern enterprises. Because these contradictions all were influenced and restricted by the reactionary goals of the westernization movement, such as the repression of peasant revolutions in order to protect the interests of the feudal clique, they could not but adopt a policy of compromise with and surrender to the foreign aggressors. This contradiction of course was a natural product of China's historical conditions and was one which the westernization faction was incapable of avoiding. Our revelation of this contradiction is not meant to excoriate people of the past but rather is intended to present a historical lesson.

2. The question of whether or not the westernization movement was totally bankrupt. In discussing the westernization movement whether one considers it from its subjective goals, objective demands or from the goals of "self-strengthening" and "seeking of wealth" put forth by the leaders of the westernization faction everything ended in bankruptcy and defeat. Although the westernization movement prolonged the endangered Qing government for another several ten of years, it was nothing more than a brief stimulant which was ultimately unable to prevent the death of the patient. Although the westernization movement did create a number of military and civilian enterprises and provided China with a certain amount of modernization, however these enterprises all went bankrupt or suffered losses and the remaining structures for the most part developed in the abnormal direction of bureaucrat capitalism. This first attempt at Chinese modernization did not produce any consequences. Even less can be said about enriching and strengthening the nation. The Xu article ignores the defeat and bankruptcy of the westernization movement and refers to its "historical contributions." This is entirely unconvincing. After researching the process of transformation undergone by some westernization faction enterprises after 1895 we feel that our formulation "completely bankrupt" is somewhat inappropriate, because the late Qing government continued to operate such modern industries as railroads and banks, and some old enterprises such as the Jiangnan Wharf, which was a part of the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau, did make some progress under new management methods and actually were a continuation of the westernization movement.

3. The transformation of the westernization faction into the bourgeoisie. The Xu article places great emphasis on this transformation and quotes GEDA GANGLING PIPAN [CRITICISM OF THE GEDA [0766 6671] OUTLINE] concerning the proletariat, "It was seen as a revolutionary class" in order to explain their words "under the historical conditions of those times the unity of the bureaucrats and the bourgeoisie was an example of progress." This question bears on the evaluation of the westernization movement. Quite right, some of the leaders and core members of the westernization movement did become members of the the three types of bourgeoisie. Some people such as Tang Tingshu and Xu

Jian originally were compradore bourgeoisie. Some westernization faction bureaucrats made great profits by purchasing western ships and armaments and thus became new members of the compradore bourgeoisie. Some people such as Sheng Xuanhual gradually increased their holdings in the westernization faction enterprises and became members of the early period bureaucrat bourgeoisie. Still others such as Nie Jigui and Yang Zonglian invested in private enterprises and thus became members of the national bourgeoisie. These were new classes which were occasioned by the westernization movement. However there are two points which much be noted: one is that the process of transformation was rather slow and did not begin until the latter part of the westernization movement. For example, Sheng Xuanhual's investment in enterprises took place for the most part after 1894 and was very minor before that time. Most of the people who became national bourgeoisie did so approximately around 1894. Such people as Tang Tingshu, Xu Jian and Zheng Guanying who originally were compradore bourgeoisie who made relatively large investments in the westernization faction enterprises were all unable to become large scale capitalists in modern China. Tang Tingshu came to a bad end "dying a miserable death and his sons in tattered clothes." (Sheng Dang [4141 2909], WEI ENXU TANG TINGSHU YIGU BING [THE PITYFUL CONDITION OF TANG TINGSHU'S ORPHANS]) The leaders of the westernization faction such as Li Hongzhang changed rather slowly. Although Li Hongzhang left 40 million taels of silver after his death very little of this was invested in modern enterprises and the great majority was invested in such feudal properties as land, housing and pawnshops. As for other leaders of the westernization faction as Yi Xu, Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, Shen Baozhen and Zhang Zhitong we have yet to discover that they made any major investments in modern enterprises. The basic class nature of these people still was to be found in the feudal class of big officials and big landlords. This is related to the reactionary nature of the westernization movement which did not have and could not have the huge capitalist structures produced by the Japanese Meiji Restoration such as Mitsukoshi, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda. Furthermore, the leaders and core members of the westernization faction for the most part became early period bourgeoisie. This particular bourgeois group was a special feature of old China, and it may be questioned whether or not it represents progress toward modern capitalist production methods. Because of this the Xu article's evaluation of this aspect is also too high.

4. The historical lesson of the westernization movement. We have expressed some opinions on this matter which may be summed up as anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. From the very outset, modern Chinese society was faced with the two major contradictions between foreign capitalist imperialism and Chinese nationalism and between feudalism and the masses. Without a resolution to these contradictions China could not enter on the road to modernization, wealth and strength. The westernization movement was unable to resolve these contradictions and consequently entered in bankruptcy and defeat. In 1943 after we saw a comparison of the Chinese westernization movement and the Japanese Meiji Restoration we learned that the central reason for the failure

the westernization movement was the problem of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism. The Xu article criticized our conclusions saying: "Although the reasoning is not illogical the facts just are not accurate." After presenting their own logic they reached a different set of conclusions, however the central question still is anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism and for the most part is similar to our views. For a close examination of the details the reader is advised to consult the Xu article as there is no need to waste space here. Of course, our conclusions are not necessarily in perfect accordance with historical conditions and we must invite everyone to continue to make criticisms and offer their views.

[Huang Yifeng, born in 1906, is director of the Shanghai Institute of Social Sciences. Jiang Feng, born in 1915, is a responsible person in the Economic Historical Research Laboratory of the Economic Research Department of the Shanghai Institute of Social Sciences.]

11492
CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

TEACHING CADRES WELL SAID IMPORTANT TO ENSURING PARTY LINE

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 21 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "Grasp the Teaching of Cadres Well"]

[Text] The recent Central Work Conference has determined the significant policy of carrying out further economic readjustment and achieving further political stability. "Once the political line is determined, cadres are a decisive factor." Grasping the teaching of cadres well is an important link in smoothly carry out this significant policy.

Grasping the teaching of cadres well at the crucial moment when our party work is taking an important turn is our fine tradition. When the 10-year civil war became the war of resistance against Japan, when nationwide victory was won, when the democratic revolution became a socialist revolution, and then the eight-character policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating, and improving the national economy was carried out in the early 1960's, our party exerted great efforts to grasp the job of retraining cadres in order to raise their theoretical level of Marxism-Leninism, unify their understanding of the party line and policies, and make the necessary ideological and organizational preparations to launch new work. After the smashing of the "gang of four," and particularly since the Third Plenum, we have been confronted with a new turn in history, and the Party Central Committee has repeatedly stressed, as in the past, the need to intensify the education of cadres, to follow the correct ideological line, and to bring the thinking of the vast numbers of cadres in line with the decisions of the Third Plenum. With the decisions of the Third Plenum further implemented, we are now confronted with the heavy and formidable task of carrying out the policy of further economic readjustment and political stability, making it necessary for us to continue to grasp the teaching of cadres. Grasping this link well will constitute a reliable guarantee of economic readjustment and political stability.

Why is it necessary to grasp the teaching of cadres well before carrying out economic readjustment? Because this fundamental change in the economic work of our country is designed to bring order out of the chaos caused by "leftist" errors in the economic work over a long period of time. If the vast numbers of cadres do not uniformly the cadres on the economic front, how can we have a unified understanding? Without there will be no unified action. And to unify understanding on this point, we cannot but conduct incisive and practical education. The "leftist" guiding thought in our economic work is longstanding. Many comrades have said

been accustomed to the "quick results" approach; it frequently happened that, out of touch with the reality of national conditions, they ran after high speed and high targets, went all out, and raced against time, with the result that different branches of the national economy were thrown severely out of balance. In the first 2 years after the smashing of the "gang of four," the "leftist" approach was still going strong--gigantic capital construction projects were called for and things were introduced into our country on a large scale, endangering the national economy. Even so, not all comrades have yet awakened to this reality. That the policy of economic readjustment put forward by the Party Central Committee following the Third Plenum has not been effectively implemented in the past 2 years owes much with the fact that a considerable part of our comrades have not freed themselves from "leftist" guiding thoughts. Now, if we want to readjust the national economy further, retreat sufficiently when producing goods that are in excessive supply, and go forward when producing goods that are in short supply, we must teach all to shake off "leftist" influences and realize that in a country like ours, with its large population, poor foundation, and low level, we can undertake construction only within the limits of our resources, move step by step, and exert arduous efforts. By doing so, all can have their level of political consciousness raised and their blindness overcome with regard to this sensible, healthy readjustment. If this problem is not solved in an ideological sense in the true sense of the word, and if the spirit of further readjustment as determined by the Party Central Committee is not really absorbed, it will be impossible to assume a serious attitude and take positive action to readjust the economy, and it will be difficult to do readjustment work well. Here it should be pointed out that in the case of those enterprises which have been closed down, suspended, merged or changed, and those enterprises charged with inadequate production tasks, it is all the more necessary to grasp the teaching of cadres well. Readjustment is bound to give rise to many ideological problems among cadres and the staff and workers of those enterprises, and to have an impact on their income. This makes it imperative to do good ideological and political work and to teach cadres well in the first place. Ideological and political work should be strengthened, and proper arrangements should be made for those [workers'] jobs and livelihood. In addition, it is imperative, in the spirit of the directives of the Central Committee, to grasp the opportunity of readjustment to give regular training to large numbers of cadres of workers according to plan, to heighten their political awareness, to improve their ability to work, and to find and select people of talent from among them. This is a matter of great significance, and all sides must attend to it enthusiastically, seriously, and effectively.

Why is it necessary to grasp the teaching of cadres well before achieving further political stability? Because the key to political stability lies in unifying the thought of the whole party and unify the thought of cadres. The thought of the party and the thought of cadres have basically been unified since the Third Plenum. But we should realize that some cadres understand almost nothing about the line and policies formulated since the Third Plenum and are even dissatisfied with and opposed to the line and policies: this is a factor impairing political stability. Some of these cadres criticize the party line and policies wantonly and even disseminate rumors and slanders among the masses. Some of them passively resist the party line and policies or adopt the doubledealing tactics of complying with them in public but opposing them in private. A few of them even sympathize with those who desire to see the world plunged into chaos, give support to illegal organizations and publications, and oppose the decisions of the Third Plenum. In addition,

factors of political instability come from those who are opposed to the four basic principles, from those who incite trouble after the pattern of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and from various types of social criminals. For this reason, if we want to achieve further political stability, we must first of all teach the vast numbers of cadres resolutely to implement the line and policies formulated since the Third Plenum, to adhere to the four basic principles, and to act as promoters of political stability and unity with the overall interests in mind. At the same time, we should dare and know how to work and to struggle against all factors of instability. On the one hand, we should learn how to apply the legal weapon of socialism in attacking all hostile forces, counterrevolutionaries, and criminals who endanger public order. On the other hand, we should correctly distinguish and handle the two types of contradictions that are different in character, and we should do thoroughgoing and meticulous work to teach and enlighten people in dealing with the ideological problems of right and wrong. In this way, political stability and unity can be further consolidated and developed.

To realize further economic readjustment and further political unity and to grasp the teaching of cadres well, we are required to ensure "three correct things." First, ensure correct thought of cadres by teaching them. A hallmark of correct or incorrect thought is whether cadres really accept and absorb the spirit of the Third Plenum, whether they really can shake off the ideological influence of "leftist" errors, and whether they are one with the Party Central Committee in terms of ideological line, political line, organizational line and policies. For the present, they are required to make a penetrating study of the decision of the recent Central Work Conference in light of the line and policies laid down at the Third Plenum, to look back on the past and sort out their thinking, to conduct the necessary criticism and self-criticism, and to sum up lessons and experiences in light of the work in their departments and units and the reality of their thought. By so doing, the level of thinking and understanding on the part of the vast number of cadres can be greatly raised and their thinking and understanding can really be brought into conformity with the line and policies of the Party Central Committee. Second, ensure the correct mental state of the cadres by teaching them. Some of our cadres are listless, lack confidence and are not vigorous, and are unequal to the tasks confronting the party. We should teach the vast numbers of cadres to have a correct understanding of the present situation, pull themselves together, increase their confidence and, with one heart and mind, wage an arduous struggle, set an example to the people, and make new contributions to the cause of the party. It should be brought home to all that the problems confronting us are numerous and very complicated and the difficulties before us are formidable. But it is up to the cadres of our party to solve these problems. The greater the difficulties and the more numerous and complicated the problems, the more we are required to use our brains, study hard, and work hard. This is the very time when we can accomplish a great deal. Pessimism and a passive or perfunctory attitude are anything but the proper mental state of good cadres. Third, ensure a correct style on the part of cadres after they have bestirred themselves and after their level of comprehension has been raised. There are two things to which the masses have the strongest objections and which may impair their confidence in the "four modernizations." The first is a bureaucratic style of work, and the second is a small number of leading cadres being privileged. Through education we must fully overcome the unhealthy tendencies of bureaucracy and personal privilege. Further, we must promote the practice of going into the thick of reality and making investigations and studies, strengthen our ties with the masses, hear their voices, and solve at

the grassroots level and nip in the bud those problems which are solvable. We must do ideological work before problems arise. The ability to ensure the "three correct things" is the yardstick for measuring whether we have done a good job of teaching cadres.

Party organizations in Shanghai attach great importance to the teaching of cadres after the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the Third Plenum. We have restored and set up municipal, ward, county and bureau party schools, and we have conducted various courses for training cadres and party members on various fronts at separate stages and in separate groups. It should be noted that we have built some base areas for teaching cadres, built up ranks to teach cadres, and accumulated new experiences. All of these things are favorable conditions for strengthening the teaching of cadres today. We should sum up experiences seriously, carry forward our achievements, overcome our shortcomings, and do a better job of teaching cadres. In grasping the teaching of cadres today, we should not only study the decision of the recent Central Work Conference and implement the policy of further economic readjustment and further political stability, but we should also organize cadres to study Marxist theory. History tells us that Marxist theoretical building is an important component of building a proletarian political party, and that definite theoretical training is one of the basic conditions for becoming qualified cadres in general and qualified leading cadres in particular. At the same time that they make a diligent study of vocational and specialized knowledge and study the party's line and policies, cadres at all levels must not overlook the study of Marxist basic theory, which is the guiding thought and the theoretical foundation for formulating lines and policies. If theory is correct, it will not be difficult to ensure correct thought and correct work.

9780

CSO: 4005/529

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

COLLEGES ESTABLISHED IN NANJING, XINJIANG AREAS

Nanjing Christian Theology College

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 81 p 2

[Article: "Jinling Xieho College of Theology in Nanjing Begins Its Term"]

[Text] The Jinling Xieho College of Theology in Nanjing began its term on 28 February. The only Christian college of theology in our country, it was formed in 1952 through the merger of more than 10 theological colleges in East China. During the 10-year turmoil, the college was suspended. It has now been reopened as a result of the implementation of the [national] religious policy.

A total of 47 male and female students were accepted this schoolyear. With the cultural standard of senior middle school graduates, they come from 22 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions. They were recommended by various churches and selected through examination. The school term is 4 years, and its main courses include Biblical research, religious doctrine, the history of churches, pastoral training, holy music, English, and other cultural subjects.

Xinjiang Sociology Institutes

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 81 p 2

[Article: "Xinjiang College of Sociology Established"]

[Text] The Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region College of Sociology was recently established. In the course of its establishment, seven research institutes with special features having to do with nationalities and with the Xinjiang region--nationalities, religion, archeology, linguistics, Central Asia, literature of the nationalities, and economics--were expanded or built; the research direction of these research institutes was determined; a core group of research workers were selected and assigned; and gratifying results were obtained in compiling and publishing the "Brief History of Xinjiang" (Vols 1 and 2), the "History of Central Asia" (Vols 1 and 2), and the "Glossary of the Uygur Language" (vol 1), as well as in studying local relics and ancient objects. Along with all this, the autonomous region has established 17 associations of sociology and research institutes, conducted a series of academic exchanges and discussions, and promoted the development of social sciences in Xinjiang.

Xinjiang Sparetime Universities

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Mar 81 p 2

[Article: "Seven Sparetime and Correspondence Universities Established in Xinjiang"]

[Text] The people's government of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region recently approved and set up seven sparetime universities and correspondence universities. Some of these universities are attached to existing universities, and some are run by the departments and committees concerned. The seven universities offer 13 specialized disciplines--arts, science, industry, agriculture, medicine--and have an enrollment of 855 students and more than 100 full-time and part-time teachers. Teaching plans and outlines are formulated according to the specialized disciplines of corresponding institutes of higher learning, and teaching materials of ordinary institutes of higher learning are used. The students enrolled are mainly workers whose cultural attainment is at the level of senior middle school graduates. Those students who pass the school examination will be given diplomas, and their employment and wages will be handled according to the provisions set by the Ministry of Education.

9780

CSO: 4005/530

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WUHAN UNIVERSITY TAKES STEPS TO IMPROVE TEACHING

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 1 Feb 81 p 2

[Article: "Wuhan University Formulates Measures To Improve Teaching"]

[Text] Not long ago, Wuhan University carried out a general inspection of the quality of teaching, summed up teaching results, discovered problems, and promoted reforms, with notable results.

In the course of this work, inspection groups were set up by the school and departments; forums of teachers, cadres, and students were held; and the inspectors attended lectures and visited some teachers. Small-scale tests and written investigations were made in a section of students, and a group of units and teachers who distinguished themselves in teaching were found. At the same time, problems in teaching were discovered.

The teaching checkup was permeated with a spirit of integrating the checkup with improvements. Comrades of the school's leading body and the dean's office studied some 100 suggestions and proposals from teachers and students and proposed corresponding measures for improvement.

The first measure consists of implementing the principle of laying stress on teaching, adhering to the idea of giving equal importance to arts and sciences, and strengthening leadership in teaching. Beginning next semester, the president and vice presidents of the university will take turns receiving teachers and students each Saturday afternoon, listening to their views on teaching work. Investigations of teaching quality will become systematized. With the object of having policies and systems ensure that teachers do both teaching and scientific research well, the measure makes it clear that from now on, the results of studying the methods of teaching and compiling teaching materials will be treated in the same way as the results of conducting scientific research, and that the titles of teachers who devote their main energies to teaching over long periods of time should be assessed mainly according to their teaching attitudes, level of teaching, teaching results, and the quality of the teaching materials compiled. Further, the school decided to take urgent measures to change the situation whereby there is a great shortage of office space for the teaching of liberal arts. Beginning this year, a certain amount of special funds will be allocated to various departments to buy books, periodicals, and data so as to create conditions for developing liberal arts.

With a view to promoting the reform of teaching content and teaching methods, the school decided to change the present phenomenon of more study of history and less study of theory in liberal arts teaching, to increase the teaching of real problems at home and abroad, and to provide courses in natural sciences. In the case of arts and sciences, attention will be paid to providing new courses embodying the special features of specialized disciplines and courses in the marginal sciences. Further, the school proposed that on the basis of a nationwide compilation of teaching materials, all departments (or speciality departments) should within 3 years compile one or two good-quality, publishable, fundamental courses or teaching materials on specialized disciplines. Teaching and research sections are required to discuss and study teaching methods from time to time, to organize teachers to sit in on one another's classes, and to learn from one another's methods of teaching. The whole school is to organize periodic exchanges of teaching methods. Starting with the current semester, the examination system is to be restructured and examination methods are to be improved in such a way as to lighten the burden for students.

The school made it clear that from now on, department heads will have the right to make unified arrangements for teaching and scientific research tasks that concern entire departments. Teachers are to be given teaching assignments according to their titles. Chief lecturers must be nominated by the teaching and research sections, considered by the department heads, and approved by the president and given "letters of appointment as chief lecturers." Some chief lecturers whose teaching level is low and whose teaching results are poor are to be transferred to other posts. Those teachers who have overfulfilled their teaching assignments will be given spiritual encouragement and material rewards. As of next semester, the practice of assigning more than two teachers to teach one course will be changed to one of assigning only one lecturer to teach one course throughout the whole semester. Young teachers are generally required to teach two subsidiary courses or experimental courses and to pass experimental lectures before they can teach students in class. The school also put forward plans for improving the credit system. Credit for various subjects and problems of advanced courses were adjusted. Teachers have been specially appointed to direct elective courses. Students in the 7th grade and above must write a graduation dissertation, for which credit will be given as a compulsory course. Those students who have earned all the [required] credits and have achieved outstanding results may graduate ahead of schedule.

9780

CSO: 4005/530

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

SHANXI PROVINCIAL POLICE EQUIPPED WITH WEAPONS

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Feb 81 p 1

[Article by Gao Dengyue [7559 4098 1471] and Kong Xianxin [1313 2009 0207]:
"Shanxi People's Policemen Equipped With Weapons"]

[Text] In order to maintain public order and protect the life and property of the state and the people more effectively, since February of this year the people's police in our province have been equipped with weapons, in line with the "provisions concerning the use of weapons by people's policemen" promulgated by the Ministry of Public Security with the approval of the State Council. The weapons include policemen's batons, police whistles, police flashlights, sirens, police ropes, and handcuffs.

In the absence of specific, explicit provisions concerning the use of weapons and equipment by policemen in the past, a small number of criminals, finding their chance, resisted people's policemen who were carrying out their duties according to the law; some of them even openly resisted the police with violence, with the result that the masses and public security police from time to time were injured. It is necessary for the people's police to use police weapons in order to curb criminal acts promptly and effectively and in order to enable the people's police to protect themselves. As long as criminals accept police warnings and place themselves at the policemen's disposal, batons and other weapons will not be used. When criminals resist with violence, the people's police have the right to use batons or other police weapons to subdue them according to provisions.

9780

CSO: 4005/529

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

30 April 1981

D.D.